

MANAGING A HOUSEHOLD AND A CAREER

A Study of Tertiary Educated Javanese Women

By

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I declare that this thesis is my own composition,
and that all sources have been acknowledged

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a long, sweeping horizontal line followed by a series of smaller, connected loops and curves.

Tri Mustikowati Manning

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about professional married Javanese woman managing their traditional triple role as mother, wife, and professional worker. The study examines how these women managed their various roles in urban Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The research involved in-depth interviews with 10 professional women and included a prepared interview guide. The experience of the Yogyakarta women was compared and contrasted with findings of studies elsewhere in Indonesia and studies of women in developed countries where public-private role conflicts have often been quite marked.

The women were committed to public roles in their professional jobs. They adopted a range of strategies to juggle public and private roles and minimise the negative impact of their career on their domestic lives as wives and mothers. I found that professional women manage their multiple roles without jeopardising their marriage and they managed to meet social expectations regarding their family. They were supported by paid helpers and family members, especially their mother. Most of the women resisted social pressures which might have discouraged their career involvement.

As more and more women gain tertiary degrees, Indonesian women are becoming engaged in professional work which will test their traditional roles within the family. Even the younger generation of women in Yogyakarta still depended on the support of their mothers and extended family. But they increasingly looked for help from their husband to help manage their complex lives. The employment of household servants is becoming more costly and families are less able to depend on paid household help or their mother and other family members. Some of the tensions involving allocation of time in the household which couples face in western countries are likely to become more marked in coming years. However, the extended family was still strong in Yogyakarta

and support from family may continue to be an important factor in helping Javanese women to pursue their careers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|-----------|
| Declaration | ii |
| Acknowledgements | iii |
| Abstract | v |
| CHAPTER I SCOPE, METHODOLOGY AND ISSUES | 1 |
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| II. METHODOLOGY | 4 |
| Method of Data Collection | 4 |
| Sample | 5 |
| Characteristics of the Sample | 6 |
| III. MANAGING A CAREER AND A HOUSEHOLD: SOME KEY ISSUES | 6 |
| Professional Married Women in Developed Countries | 8 |
| The Dual Role of Professional Married women | 11 |
| Indonesian Women | 18 |
| IV. CONCLUSION | 22 |
| CHAPTER II SOCIAL CHANGE AND WOMEN'S WORK IN YOGYAKARTA | 24 |
| I. INTRODUCTION | 24 |
| II. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT: YOGYAKARTA | 25 |
| III. WOMEN'S WORK AND SOCIAL CLASS IN JAVA | 29 |
| IV. CHANGING ROLES AMONG EDUCATED WOMEN | 37 |
| Changing Perceptions of Professional Work | 39 |
| V. DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL ROLES | 41 |
| Managing the Household | 42 |
| Maintaining Social Relations | 44 |
| VI. CONCLUSION | 46 |

| | | |
|---------------------|--|-----------|
| CHAPTER III | MANAGING THE HOUSEHOLD AND PURSUING A CAREER: CASE STUDIES | 48 |
| I. | INTRODUCTION | 48 |
| II. | CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS | 50 |
| III. | THREE CASE STUDIES | 52 |
| | The 1960s and 1970s: Ibu Susilo | 54 |
| | The 1980s: Ibu Suwanto | 62 |
| | the 1990s: Ibu Heni | 67 |
| IV. | HOW DO WOMEN MANAGE? | 70 |
| | Role of the Woman's Mother and Extended Family | 71 |
| | Servants and Baby Sitters | 73 |
| | Husbands | 76 |
| V. | CAREER AND HOUSEHOLD | 79 |
| CHAPTER IV | CONCLUSION: CHANGING GENDER ROLES IN JAVANESE PROFESSIONAL FAMILIES | 84 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | | 90 |

CHAPTER I

SCOPE, METHODOLOGY AND ISSUES

I. INTRODUCTION

In the 1990s, there were many more professional women in Indonesia than a decade before. In 1990, just over one million Indonesian women were classified as professionals, according to the National Population Census.¹ About 60 per cent lived in urban areas.² Just over 180,000 professionals were tertiary educated and the large majority of these women lived in urban areas.

It is this last group of urban tertiary educated women which is the main focus of this study.³ In western societies much has been written about the difficulties which professional women have in managing a career, a family and a home.⁴ The main emphasis of this study is to examine how Indonesian professional women cope with the demands of professional jobs and family commitments. It is expected that Indonesian professional women will face different kinds of challenges to those faced by western women. These are related to more traditional views about women's role in the family and in the home. Stronger family ties can also be expected to affect the roles of professional women.

In the 1990s, many professionals women were pursuing a career outside the traditional 'pink' jobs such as nursing, teaching, clerical and secretarial work which had been the

1 Professionals are defined according the international standard occupational classification of the International Labour Office adapted to Indonesian conditions. They include all teachers, lecturers and researchers, medical practitioners (including nurses), government and service sector executive officers, engineers, architects and other professional jobs.

2 The number had doubled since 1980. Most of them were upper secondary educated and worked as primary and secondary school teachers.

3 This group of urban, tertiary educated professionals increased from only 33,000 in 1980 to 157,000 in 1990 (according to the Population Censuses in 1980 and 1990).

4 See section III below.

main source of work for educated women in the 1970s (Raharjo and Hull, 1984). Jobs such as business executives, bank managers and service sector professionals were increasingly being taken up by women in the 1990s (*Asian Wall Street Journal*, 28 September 1993). As a result, there is a great deal of discussion of how women are able to reconcile the demands of their home environment with the pressures of work - such as longer hours of work, often involving being away from the family, etc. which are likely to be much greater in these jobs than in traditional female-oriented occupations. This attention often takes the form of criticism to the effect that professional women have forgotten - or are neglecting - their household responsibilities including the key role of wife and mother.

In this thesis I want to argue that there are good reasons for the ever increasing amount of attention given to "professional women" in a wide variety of circles in Indonesia. There has been a substantial change in how many middle class women derive their status. Instead of their status being based on their husband's position, or organizations affiliated with the state and religious groups,⁵ the status of many middle class women is now directly linked to their educational and career choices.

My other argument regarding the middle class Indonesian society is that the traditional role of household responsibility for the wife has mainly been organisational and managerial. However there tends to be a conflict in reconciling additional work commitments associated with a career, with the expectations of their husbands (and sometimes other groups in society) regarding women's household role.

Household duties are usually not performed in isolation but with the help of an extended family. The actual execution of their responsibilities among middle class families has

5 These include the government women's organization like Dharma Wanita, religious circles such Islamic women's organizations, and Christian women's organizations, and generally in the media, for example in the women's magazines such as *Femina*, *Kartini*, and *Sarinah*,

always been with the hired household staff such as *pembantu* (female domestic worker), drivers, etc. Because of this reality the Indonesian professional woman can still perform the tasks of a household manager, despite the fact that she now chooses also to be engaged in full-time paid employment.⁶

On a day to day basis, middle class Indonesian women spend a large amount of time physically out of the house doing a variety of activities including attending *arisan* (rotary credit association), shopping, etc. Even a mother of very young children would not spend a lot of time with her children. Rather, she would leave the overwhelming responsibility of child rearing with the *pembantu*, even to the extent of babies under six months being carried constantly not by the mother but by the *pembantu*. The woman's interaction with the household comes in the form of giving the servants instructions for the day in the early morning such (as breakfast preparation for the husband and children), getting the children ready for school, organizing the driver's routine to facilitate family movement throughout the day, etc.

Traditionally, however, middle class women also gain status by supporting the status and career of their husband. For example, the wife of a senior public servant or business manager would be expected to join the organization of wives in her husband's department or business. Such responsibility did require her to undertake activities and managerial responsibilities outside her home. For the professional woman, those responsibilities which relate to her husband's career can cause more significant problems than household responsibilities, as she cannot delegate those tasks to the others.

Because of the lack of challenge and satisfaction in the traditional role of household figurehead, middle class women have had much less trouble than women in the west in

6 For example, this is possible because she can give orders to hired household staff at the beginning of the day and through telephone contact, and then leave the supervision of those household tasks throughout the day to the extended family.

reconciling household responsibilities with normal work commitments in their professional jobs.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study covers married professional tertiary educated women in Yogyakarta Indonesia. I studied a small group of tertiary educated Javanese professional wives, who are working either for the government or in the private sector. In this study, I collected information which will give some insight into the impact of occupation and career on the family life of women, especially the multiple roles as woman, mother, wife and worker.

Information was also collected about the changing relationship between husband and wife, as the result of the increasing involvement of women in professional jobs and careers. It is important to examine whether professional women's role in the family does change; and what form the triple role of mother, wife, and professional worker takes.

My objective was to see and learn from the women themselves: How do they handle their many roles? How do they see themselves and how do they organise their day? How do they feel they are viewed by people around them? Who do they rely on to perform household tasks and what is the role of their husbands?.

Method of data Collection.

The method I used in collecting the information was by interviewing a sample of educated professional women who lived and worked in the city of Yogyakarta. In collecting the data I used free interviews. I listened to, and prompted the respondent to tell the story and taped the conversation. I used interview guide to make sure that the same questions were asked to each respondent.

2. Sample

To conduct the study of these professional educated women I chose Yogyakarta. This city has a special character, as a centre of court culture where the government is run by the Sultan of Yogyakarta. I assumed that women would still have "traditional" Javanese values regarding their role as a mother and wife, and this could be expected to influence how they managed the demands of their family and their career.

The criteria I used in choosing the sample of educated professional women were that they (i) had a tertiary education and (ii) work in professional, managerial, or administrator positions in government, public or private enterprises. I also only chose married women who had children and were currently married in order to examine the influence of husband and family on the careers of these women. All women in the sample were aged 30-73.

The women mostly had household helpers or servants (*pembantu*). They also received some help from their extended family. This advantage for the professional woman in Yogyakarta appears to be quite different to professional women in Jakarta who often could not rely on their extended family (Raharjo and Hull, 1984: 121).

I used these criteria, because I wanted to see what problems women who have been "successful" in modern business and bureaucratic environments, face in managing their families.

I chose the women through informal contacts with friends and family. After conducting free interviews and observing 20 women, I chose 10 women for this study.

3. Characteristics of the Sample

These 10 women had the following characteristics:

Age: Aged between 30 to 73.

Number of Children: Most respondents had 2 children, one had 3 children, and two (both aged over 50) had more than five children.

Religion: Most were Muslims, only one was a Christian.

Education: All the respondents were tertiary educated; some of them finished their education while they worked early in their career.

Occupation: These included university lecturers, bank managers, a member of parliament and school teacher (combined), executives in government departments and a business woman and government consultant (combined).

III. MANAGING A CAREER AND A HOUSEHOLD: SOME KEY ISSUES

This section reviews some of the issues raised in the studies of gender roles and how they are viewed in society. This is viewed as a background to my study of married, professional women in Yogyakarta Indonesia.

Studies have found that many societies differentiated men and women according to their role in the family and society (Rosaldo, 1974; Robertson, 1987). In modern industrial environments, the family mostly consists of the father and mother and their children, and generally no other relatives (Holmstrom:1972: 13). Couples frequently follow the division of labour in which each gender is assigned special tasks. For most of this century, the most common division of labour in the family in western industrial societies has been men working to earn some money - and sometimes pursuing a career - and the wife looking after the children, household chores and social interaction (Holmstrom: 1972).

An extreme example of the evolution of separate gender roles is the transformation of a traditional community into a modern town by a foreign company in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. (Robinson 1983:121-123). Robinson found that with the development of this town men were employed by the mining company. Women who had previously shared in agricultural work were left without a job. Women were left at home mostly looking after the children and wives became more dependent on their husbands.⁷

Similar to the division between the role of married females in the home and their husband's role in the work place, Rosaldo (1974) suggested there was a separation between 'public' and 'domestic' (private) roles. Following Rosaldo (1973:23): "domestic refers to those (minimal) institutions and activities that are organised around mother and their children; public refers to activities and institutions that link, rank, organise or subsume mother child groups." Related to their subordinate role, a woman's place is also regarded in the 'domestic' domain rather than in the public domain. Not only is public distinguished from private but it is seen as superior to private because it bestows power and money.

Although Rosaldo's framework has been criticised widely because gender roles are often different in various societies, she argues that her framework will be "more or less salient in different social and ideological systems" (Rosaldo 1974:23).⁸ Moore agrees. According to Moore (1988: 21) the 'domestic' versus 'public' division remains a powerful idea in social anthropology. It provides a way of linking the cultural evaluation of a given category of 'woman' to the organisation of women's activities in society.

7 This process of exclusion of women from economic roles in the transitional stages of economic development (from rural traditional to urban) is highlighted by Boserup (1970).

8 However, the idea of universal dominant male 'public' roles has been questioned by researchers who argue that gender roles and female autonomy and power vary between cultures. They also argue that male groups are too often the focus of research, especially in traditional environments. See especially Ardener (1975: 140), Ortner (1974:73-74), Mc Cormack (1980), and Jordanova (1981)

Another criticism which can be made of Rosaldo is that she ignores important differences in public and private roles among various classes. As we shall see, research on rural Java shows that there are major differences in the gender roles between upper and lower class women. In general, wealthy, rural women do not value work outside the home. Work outside the home is regarded as demeaning and lowers their husband's status in the society (Hull: 1976). On the other hand, poorer women are forced to work to earn a living (Helliwell 1993: 267-274). In this study, we will investigate the extent to which this pattern also applies to more educated, urban women.

The framework developed by Rosaldo is relevant to understanding the social context associated with a division of labour, where the husband works and pursues a career, and the wife devotes her time to the home and the family. However, what happens if both persons work and pursue a career? Will the wife still remain largely attached to the domestic sphere?. A consideration here is not just what men or women do but how "society" views their roles.

There is likely to be a difference in the division of labour in a two career family compared with a family where only one member works on a full-time basis outside the home. Some of the home care and child raising duties will need to be shared, but which ones and in what proportion between males and females?. And how will this redefinition affect the family, and the autonomy and influence of women (and men) within the household?

Professional Married Women in Developed Countries.

Since the 1950s, growing numbers of women in North America and Western Europe have entered the labour force (Robertson, 1987: 319-320). In the USA, for example, the participation of married women in the work force increased from less than 20 per cent of all married women in 1950 to around 50 per cent in 1990 (Moen, 1992: 12).

Improvement in education of women played a major role in this change.⁹ With regard to the influence of education, she states(p. 25): "The more education a woman has, the more likely she is to be in the labour force. ...By 1988...over four out of five women with college degree were in the labour force."

Many of these women worked in professional jobs - as executives, lawyers, administrators and teachers - and many of these jobs were formerly 'mens' jobs (Moen, 1992: 99).¹⁰ She argued that professional, career-oriented women face many conflicts between work and family roles. In fact, the conflict may be even greater for these women than for less educated women because they worry about the effects of their long hours away from home on their children's education and well-being. These women worry that if their children are not given enough attention, this might affect their health and education. They have high expectations regarding the welfare of their children, and they can provide better quality health and education from their high salaries. However, they know that money cannot entirely compensate for the absence of the attention and guidance from a mother at home.

Moen argues that "Career-oriented women are the most likely to experience conflict between work and family roles, which suggests that such conflict occurs when a women is absorbed in her job at the same time that she is highly investing in mothering." Other studies have arrived at similar findings. Research conducted among married professional women has shown that many women find it very hard to work in a profession career, while combining this with managing a household and raising a family.¹¹

9 Moen (1992: 23-25) argues that a decline in the number of children and increased education were two of the most important factors which influenced the participation rate of married women.

10 For example, Moen found that whereas in 1950 only 14 per cent of executives, administrators, and managers were women in the USA, this proportion had increased to 40 per cent by 1989.

11 See especially Holstrom (1972), Hertz (1986) and Lubin (1987). These studies were conducted in the United States (California, Chicago and Boston).

At the same time, we shall see below that some studies of women in developed countries show that there can be variation in the way in which married professional women balance the demands of their households and their jobs. The level of family incomes is one important factor which is sometimes neglected in discussions faced by working women, even among professionals.

Salaries are important for two career families because with two incomes some professional couples are able to employ someone to do the job of looking after the household chores, such as a cleaner or gardener. But these services are not always affordable for all professional women. We cannot generalise that all women face the burden of a double role to the same degree. It depends on the socio-economic position of each woman, her class and marital status (Helliwell 1993: 271).

It seems also that the attitude and role of husbands is also important in enabling a woman to combine work with managing a household and raising a family. Husbands may support their partner's role - even to the extent of playing a major role in managing the household - but their lack of support may also make it difficult for women to juggle all the demands on their time. Similarly, the type of job held by both the woman and her husband can also affect the extent to which a professional career can be a 'burden' for professional wives and mothers: men and women with more flexible work hours are likely to find it easier to cope, as are occupations which do not demand long absences away from the home on the part of either spouse.

An examination of these role conflicts and variations between groups of women will help guide my study in a traditional environment such as Yogyakarta.

I divide the literature review of women in developed countries - mainly the USA - into two sections. The first section deals with studies which found that women still face a double burden regarding their role as a mother and a professional worker. The second

section deals with several of the factors which influence the way in which couples adjust to the wife's work and career.

The Dual Role of Professional Women.

Some studies found that women feel that working as a professional is a burden to them. The burden is related to their double role as a worker and as a mother and wife (Hochschild and Machung, 1989). Women take most of the burden of work in the home, in addition to their professional jobs. Thus their domestic role has been described as "The Second Shift". Hochschild and Machung (1989: 7) in their study which covered many types of work done by working women in California mentioned that women still face a double burden regarding their role as a mother and professional worker. One woman said, for example: " You are on duty at work. You come home, you are 'on duty'. Then you go back to work you are on duty". The concept 'on duty' here is the work women have to do at work as paid worker and at home as a mother and wife. The task is more difficult for them when they do not get help from their husband.

According to Hochschild and Machung (p. 7) "After eight hours of adjusting insurance claims, she comes home to put on the rice for dinner, care for children and wash laundry, put them to bed and even read them a story. She found (p.9) that women often felt "...overtired, sick and emotionally drained.". Hochschild and Machung (1989: 8) calculated that Californian women worked as much as a full month more than men a year, if the time devoted to domestic duties is taken into account. Similarly, Bird (1979, cited in Hertz, 1986: 12) found, professional women feel that they were often "...saddled with a double duty day"; their work outside the home resulted in "rescheduling rather than reduction in the amount of traditional household chores".

Other studies of a group of professional married women in the USA found that women have to 'juggle' between work and family if they want to survive their work and family (Lubin: 1987). They have to adjust constantly their family commitments to fit in with the

demands of their work, and sometimes they have to adjust their work patterns as well - if their job allows them to do so (see below). Sometimes they are discouraged from pursuing a career because they cannot manage to balance their professional job, care of their children and management of the household

What do these studies find are most common responsibilities of women and men at home? Women often took responsibility for cooking, shopping, doing the laundry, looking after children. This included feeding, bathing, clothing and putting children to bed (when they are small) and preparing them for school and helping with homework when they get older. Men, on the other hand, were more in charge of non-daily chores such as house and car repairs, paying bills, mowing lawns and taking children to social and sporting functions when they get older.¹²

Many professional jobs require a high degree of commitment (Holmstrom, 1972). The work not only involves long hours but also entails a lot of mental stress. Professionals - for example business managers and medical doctors or lawyers - often have responsibilities to their organisations and clients. Because hours of work are frequently long, they are sometimes unable to take time off to deal with family crises, or to fully attend to their household when work commitments are heavy.

In her study of professional career women in Boston, Holmstrom discussed the **lack of flexibility** of work in professional jobs which often leads women to withdraw from the work place because they feel that are unable to cope with the demands of their job and household responsibility at the same time.

12 Hochschild (1989) gives detailed examples for several couples. For example Carol, a systems analysis in a large corporation who was aged 35 with a three year old child did the cooking, shopping and laundry, whereas her husband's main chores were not regular and included household repairs, paying bills and repairing both cars (p.146).

Holmstrom (1972: 29) notes:

"The trouble with having a profession today is that if you have one, you are expected to pursue it in a certain way - and it is a very rigid way. You are supposed to move when the call of the profession tells you to move, even when it is clear across the country. ...Many employers will not hire your spouse if they employ you, and will not employ you if they hire your spouse. And you are expected to show single-minded devotion to career, placing it above all other interests in life. Every single one of these current expectations has behind it the assumption that there will be only one career in the family and that the interests of other family members will be subordinated to it."

She discusses how part-time jobs are hard to get in most professions and are generally considered inferior.

This stress also places strain on marriages. The double burden on women often leads to tension in marriages and divorce (Holmstrom ;1972: 147-148).¹³ One of her respondents reported that she underwent a divorce because "One of the problems was that he [her first husband] wasn't very flexible in anything. I had to do everything. Well, I do a lot of work around here (In my present home) I don't mind doing work. But to be expected all the time to do all the work without any cooperation I think is not fair...In my more mature attitude I look upon this as one of the things I felt was important in life - to have a partner that I could share some of the responsibility with."

A related problem which is faced by married professional women in developed countries is the lack of help from the extended family. The form of the family is mainly nuclear family. So professional women have to rely on their husband's involvement to help with household chores and look after the children. Holmstrom (1972) mentions that most wives expected their husbands to give assistance in routine aspects of child care, such as changing diapers, feeding children, putting them to bed, getting up at night to attend to a crying child, or generally looking after the children. Lubis (1987: 59) reports that professional women in New York also expected their husbands to share in child care and

13 Moen (1992: 27) notes that there was a big increase in divorce rates and single motherhood during the 1970s and 1980s in USA.

housework. But she also notes that their husbands did not share these responsibilities equally - the women spent longer hours than their husbands at both.

What factors influence the division of work within the household? The literature on developed countries suggests that *ethnicity and culture* can be associated with different patterns of division of labour between husbands and wives, although not many of the studies deal with these issues.¹⁴ Willie (cited in Stein, 1984: 152) found that 'black' men in his sample from various cities in USA do more housework than 'white' males from similar class backgrounds. This seems to be related to the fact that black husband-wife combinations tend to work more as a team (play more complementary roles), whereas individualism and even competition seems to have been stronger among white couples. One would expect attitudes to housework and flexibility between males and females to vary between societies, depending on the extent to which traditional gender roles are valued highly.

The *level of incomes* may also be important. Some of the 'new' professional families (see below) are able to manage better because the couples can afford paid help to look after the house and even nannies to look after the children (Hertz, 1986). Paid help can also be employed to help to give lessons to the children, thus lifting the burden of schooling from the mother and father.

Social background and upbringing can have an influence on how husbands and wives work together in the home. A husband's attitude to housework can be influenced by his earlier experience of a father who helped his mother in the house (Lubin, 1987: 25-26). However, in some cases men may be more cooperative precisely because their father has not helped and they feel sympathy with their mother. Thus Lubin also reports on a case where a man who was very cooperative in housework, came from a family in which his

14 It is surprising how few of the studies in the USA make reference to different social and religious values on the gender roles among working women. We shall see that there is considerable emphasis on these issues in the literature on Indonesia.

father was rarely present; he learnt to help his wife around the house from the experience he had when he was a small boy helping his mother.

Another factor which seems to be important for changing gender roles is the *type of professional job* held by women and men. Some professionals have very little opportunity for flexibility in their work, or in designing flexible arrangements for looking after the house and children (Holmstrom, 1972). Senior corporate executives, medical surgeons or leading lawyers are examples. In others - especially among academics, teachers, and nurses - professional work can be conducted part-time. There is a much greater possibility for wives and husbands to share work, *as neither* is in a highly inflexible job.

Finally *the role of husbands* is very important. Some studies questioned whether the husband's participation in the wife's traditional domains increased (for example in housekeeping and childcare) (Yogev, 1981; Weingarten, 1978 [both cited in Hertz]). The question is to what extent do the husbands help in managing the household. Some men are willing to help around the house, but only in certain jobs, such as looking after the children, taking them to the park, playing sport, taking them to watch the movies, etc.. So their sharing does not mainly deal with housework, because they believe men and women have different jobs around the house. While the fact that men undertake different tasks is not necessarily a problem, these 'male' tasks often involve less hours of work. Women feel that the housework is repetitive, more physically demanding and less interesting than many of the jobs undertaken by males.

Weingarten (1978, cited in Hertz, 1986: 11) found that although couples worked out a division of labour that allowed wives to compensate for time they spent away from home, some men chose not to do housework because they felt it "threatened their masculinity". Some men were proud of a 'macho' image which they projected to friends and neighbours and women thought that this would have been undermined if their husbands did the

housework or washing (Hertz, pp. 64-66). She noted that although women were released from some responsibilities, they still had to be responsible for management and some jobs. While some women accepted this division of labour, others were unhappy about it and this led to tensions within the marriage. This situation sometimes discouraged women from continuing to work in professional jobs, especially if they have children under five years old.

Nevertheless, the lack of support from their husband was not a discouraging factor for all women. This was shown in Yogev's (1981) study of a group of female academics. She found that women themselves did not **want** to change the traditional aspect of their lives responsibilities, that is, they continued to assume most of the child care and housework.

However, even in these cases it was not true that the husband and wife were sharing jobs equally in domestic affairs. In many cases, the husband did not manage the home and children in his wife's absence. Rather, some men leave the responsibility to other people, such as house keepers or nannies (Lubin, 1987). Only very rich people could afford such help. We shall see that this is different from the situation in Indonesia (see below).

Some studies also found that the husband's attitude towards their wife's employment is very important, such as accepting the fact that her job sometimes requires her to work for long hours and sometimes going away for a longer period of time. One of Holstrom's (1972: 29) respondents mentioned that "We just accept (travelling). We don't ever have to be away very long if I go, it is perhaps for a week or ten days."

New Professional Families... Some of the above mentioned factors such as the level of income and the role of husbands seem to have been favourable to a greater sharing of family responsibilities among younger professional couples in recent years. Compared with many studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, Hertz (1986: 13) emphasises that the division of work among many couples seems to have changed by the 1980s. She

draws attention to a group which she call the 'new' professionals. With the increasing number of professional married women in the workforce, she suggests that there is a tendency among those professionals to form a new 'modern couple in western countries (Hertz, 1986: 1). This model is quite different to what most families still view as a traditional model in developed countries, which emphasizes that a woman's primary role is to manage the household.

This new model family has been studied in Chicago by Hertz (1986) who showed that the new professional couples were trying to form a family which is different to their parent's generation. She noted that these couples often both have a career and the financial means to be able to allow the wife some freedom from the traditional duties, like looking after the house and the children. They have enough money to pay for a house cleaner, and sometimes even a nanny to mind their children.

Childcare arrangements among younger professionals generally involved hiring baby sitters or housekeepers (Hertz, 1986: Chapter 5). They did not receive assistance from the state or from corporations, most of which did not have organised child care arrangements for the children of executives or other employees. These professional couples seemed to have preferred more individualised child care anyway, because they felt it was better for their children: the baby-sitters or nannies gave more personal attention to their children's specific needs and problems.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the contrast between different generations of women can be overstated. Hertz (1986: 227) also found that men who share the burdens of housework and childcare seemed to be quite randomly distributed across socio-economic classes. "Sharing men seemed to be randomly distributed across class and hierarchy." Personality of both

¹⁵ Partly, too, group childcare facilities have generally been poor and expensive in the United States compared with other countries such as Sweden and Denmark (Holmstrom, 1972: 174). However, they increased a great deal in response to growing demand among more educated women in the 1980s (Moen, 1992: 77-79).

husband and wife and how they interacted produced unexpected cooperation or sometimes lack of cooperation

In conclusion, studies of western professional women suggests that the clear division between public and private roles of men and women respectively has broken down, as more and more women have entered the work force. Earlier studies pointed to the strains imposed on professional women who entered the work force and had to balance a career and manage a household without much support from their husbands. This situation seemed to have changed by the 1980s as the social environment in which professional women operated had also been transformed. Higher divorce rates, a general acceptance that men had to do more in the home - influenced by the women's movement's rejection of "sex role stereotyping" - had led to a more egalitarian approach to marriage and parenting, although this is by no means universal (Carden, 1984: 12). One objective of this study is to examine the extent to which some of these changes are reflected in sharing of domestic responsibilities between professional couples in Indonesia.

Indonesian Women

In the introduction we saw that there are many more professional women working in Indonesia in the 1990s. What do studies of Indonesian women say about how women cope with increased responsibilities, in a society where roles of mother and wife are important in national ideology and in traditional culture and religion?

In general, many of the problems faced by western women are different from the challenges faced by married professional women in Indonesia.¹⁶ Since the 1970s, writers have suggested that the main problem for Indonesian professionals is not allocation of time between husband and wife to domestic tasks. It is not finding the energy to do all the household chores, including looking after children. Rather, women

¹⁶ See especially articles written by Raharjo (1975), articles by Hersi S., Suryakusuma and Noerhadi included in *PRISMA* July 1981 which discuss the changing role of women in Indonesian society.

are considered as responsible for **running** the household - rather than doing household chores - and managing the upbringing of children (Rahardjo 1975: 50). These tasks are not considered a joint responsibility as they are in the cases of western women discussed above. Meanwhile, the housework - cooking, cleaning, ironing and shopping - is mostly done by paid household helpers or with the help of extended family members.

This appears to have remained true in the 1980s. Middle class women are expected to organise and supervise the work of servants or nannies, to plan expenditure, to do all the bills and plan their children's daily activities and their leisure and schooling (Ihromi, 1990). Ihromi discusses how these activities can be a burden for middle class women in Jakarta. For example, dealing with schooling matters involves a lot of planning and organisation. The husband's role in these Jakarta families was to undertake jobs outside the home, for example, keeping the compound clean and washing cars or motor bikes.

Middle class women are by no means free to follow a career, however. They are constantly reminded that their **main** role - their god-given role or *kodrat* - as a mother and wife cannot be ignored (Hersri, S., 1981). Many seminars are being conducted by women's organizations or magazines advising career women not to forget their role as a mother. They are expected to act as 'devoted wife' and serve the needs of their husband and the children first.¹⁷ The role of married women as a wife and mother with the responsibility of the welfare of the husband and children should not be neglected. According to this view, their professional work responsibilities are secondary. (Yamin 1977)

These problems faced by middle class Indonesian women are influenced by the expectations regarding women's role in the household and in the society. Expectations and social pressures come from the extended family, neighbours, their husband's office and even from religious organisations such as Nahdatul Ulama, and religious magazines

¹⁷ See also Woodcroft-Lee (1983 :177)

such as *Panji Masyarakat* or *Panjimas*, and *Kiblat* (Woodcroft-Lee:1983: 173).¹⁸ For example, articles in *Panji Masyarakat* stressed that the 'ideal' women tends to be first a wife and mother and only a professional (academic, doctor or religious teacher) second. The mother's role in guiding the education of their children is given special emphasis, usually in cooperation with her husband.

Concerns have been expressed from a perspective of Islamic doctrine and practice regarding the impact (on the family) of women's commitment to work and a career. Some writers argue that while Islam does not forbid women from working and pursuing a career, they should do so only in occupations such as teachers or doctors who deal mainly with the same sex.¹⁹ For example, it is regarded as not appropriate for muslim women to have dinner or lunch with their male colleagues; this can lead women to being unfaithful to their husband, and can cause divorce which will affect the children. Other issues highlighted include the impact of career women on men's jobs and unemployment, neglect of the family, and absence from the home which causes a breakdown in traditional family values.

Djamaludin (1991) mentioned that women can become victims of gossip as she is rarely at home in large cities like Jakarta and Yogyakarta.²⁰ This is summed up in the disparaging saying that often children are *anak pembantu* (the offspring of the servant) They often miss their servant more than their mother.²¹

18 These are two semi-popular journals which Woodcroft-Lee (1983: 176) reports have been running since the 1950s and 1960s and are widely read among urban middle class muslims. While some religious groups - for example some fundamental Jews and Christians - have definite ideas about the role of women in Western societies, this probably has less impact on the majority of women who tend to be secular in outlook (Robertson, 1987: 321).

19 See for example a translation of a book entitled *Wanita Islam dan Gaya Hidup Modern* (1993: 195-205), by Bahruddin Fanani from Al Mar'ah Al- Mu'ashirah written by, Al-Ghaffar, which circulated widely in Jakarta in the mid 1990s. Woodcroft-Lee (1983) outlines some of these views expressed in the Indonesian Islamic magazines *Panjimas* and *Kiblat*.

20 Gossip is frequently passed by household helpers from neighbour to neighbour.

21 In Victorian society this happened too; children were said to love their nanny more than their mother (Gathorne-Hardy, 1972:235).

Sullivan (1983, 1994) argues that concerns regarding professional women's dual roles are reinforced by the attitude of the Indonesian government in their ideology and government policies. These suggest that women's prime role is to safeguard the welfare of the family. (Sullivan, 1994: 154-55) stressed this point with regard to the government sponsored National Family Welfare Group, the PKK, in the 1970s and early 1980s, to which a large number of women belong. The basic aims of the PKK revolve around the home and the domestic sphere, involving such activities as instructions on cooking, looking after children and the home. These groups were sponsored by government in most urban communities in Indonesia.

This also applies to involvement in women's organisations such as Dharma Wanita (Civil Service Women's Auxiliary) which is social organization associated with their husband's work place.²² For many career women, it is difficult for the wife of a high ranking official to delegate these tasks to other women. However if these tasks are not managed properly it might jeopardise their husband's career. Both these organisations were formed during the New Order period in Indonesia and remain powerful arms of government control and extension activities.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that these views regarding women's roles may be less relevant to the attitudes of the younger generation of professional men and women in Indonesia. I would expect this group to be more exposed to western values regarding greater equality between the sexes and have a more positive attitude to professional work among women. These younger men are more likely to share household responsibilities, especially helping take care of the children, such as taking them to school, playing sport and other activities (*Femina* [Yearly], 79-85, 1993).²³ The wives cannot rely on their

22 Membership is compulsory for the wives of civil servants, and for senior officials in government banks, universities and other organisations run by the state (Woodcroft Lee here, 1983).

23 This is based on survey of young professionals conducted by *Femina* magazine in 1993.

extended family because some of them live miles away from their parents or their in laws.²⁴

IV. CONCLUSION

In this Chapter I have introduced the main issues to be examined in this thesis and reported on the results of some of the studies which deal with the dual roles of professional women in western societies and in Indonesia. The main issue to be examined in the thesis is how professional women cope with dual roles and how this influences their relationship with their families and their community.

We saw that professional women in western countries have faced major problems in having to take responsibility for the home as well their jobs. This was especially true when female participation rates began to rise rapidly in western countries in the early post war period. More recently, it seems that both professional women and men have adapted to the new circumstances of having two full-time working partners. Men have been asked to take more responsibility for the upbringing of their children and housework. In some cases, these 'new' professional couples have hired paid help to look after their children and homes.

In Indonesia, the problem of division of labour at home has not been a major issue like it has been among western households - although it may become so if servants become expensive and extended families begin to break down. Although there have been no major empirical studies of the problems faced by professional women at home, several general surveys of women's roles have suggested that professional women mostly bear the job of managing the household and the family in urban Indonesia. There is criticism

²⁴ Another popular magazine - *Dewi* (January 1993) discussed the issue of spoilt (*manja*) professional males. The fact that there was a seminar held on changing roles of males in the household in Yogyakarta in 1990 is an indication of a beginning of an awareness of this problem in Indonesia by the 1990s (Budiman, 1990).

from conservative groups - such as government-backed organisation and some religious groups - regarding the impact of women's work outside the home.²⁵ One of the goals of this study is to examine how these criticisms levelled at working women affect their behaviour and social networks.

25 However, these views are being increasingly challenged by non-government organisations led by a younger generation of women such as *Kalyanamitra* and *Yayasan Solidaritas Perempuan* (The Foundation for Women's Solidarity) which have been active primarily in major cities in recent years. See Triwijati (1996: 362-374).

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CHANGE AND WOMEN'S WORK IN YOGYAKARTA

I. INTRODUCTION

In my introductory chapter I found that although there were new ways in which women coped with family and a career, studies suggested that many women still faced major problems. Household responsibilities, including raising children and doing household jobs have remained primarily women's work, even among some of the 'new' professional families. Men still play a secondary role to women in doing many of these tasks, despite many women's achievements in gaining greater equality with men in education, occupational level and income.

These developments were examined from an investigation of anthropological studies undertaken in several western countries and in Indonesia. In the next chapter, the way in which a sample of professional women reconcile work responsibilities with household tasks is examined in the changing environment of Yogyakarta.

The aim of this chapter is to introduce some key aspects of the social, cultural and economic environment and of Yogyakarta city which relate to women's work and family roles. The economic and social role of different classes of women and the changing patterns which underlie new work situation are also examined. This will help me to interpret the key themes developed in the first chapter in a specific social context. It will also help an understanding of some of the forces which influence the decision-making of women included in my sample.

Emphasis is placed on the special context and changed environment in Yogyakarta, especially among the Javanese middle class and more educated women. It deals with the

cultural and socio-economic situation that many women experienced in the 1990s compared with several decades earlier. I examine some of the factors which influence Javanese women from the city of Yogyakarta to manage their family and work commitments. The environment has changed from a traditional environment - in which Javanese values played an important role - to become a more modern environment influenced by western values. The structure of families has changed: most women now have fewer children and they are more educated. These changes can be expected to have an influence on women's role in the family and in Javanese society.

II. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT: YOGYAKARTA

Yogyakarta is well known as a city in which traditional Javanese culture is still quite dominant in influencing people in their beliefs, attitudes, their way of thinking and their life style. This is partly because the governor of this province is the Sultan and his palace is still an important centre of Javanese culture. Beside holding traditional Javanese ceremonies attended by large crowds of people, the Sultan is the patron of art and culture as well as the head of modern government.

Yogyakarta is a special territory at the provincial level, due to the special role which the present Sultan's father played in the independence movement against the Dutch (Selosoemardjan, 1962).²⁶ It is the smallest province on Java. Quite a large number of officials are attached to the provincial government which is an important source of employment for educated people. Considerable status is given to civil servants, especially those related to the Sultan, although the respect given to these people has diminished as more private sector activity begins to dominate economic life. The young Sultan - who took over after his much respected father passed away in 1989 - has placed

²⁶ Yogyakarta was the capital of independent Indonesia for several years during the armed struggle against the Dutch in 1946-1949 when Jakarta was occupied by Dutch forces.

considerable emphasis on the development of commercial activities and tourism in Yogyakarta.

The new Sultan has an interest in business, he is young and forward looking. Although he still wants to maintain the old traditions, he has introduced new ideas about running the city. This new Sultan has educated his three daughters overseas. This has set an example which opposes discrimination against women undertaking further education.

The expansion of education and of tourism in particular has given a stimulus for employment among more educated people. Yogyakarta is also known as a 'Student City'. This city has the first state university built after independence (Gadjah Mada University - named after the famous Prime Minister in the Kingdom of Majapahit). The university has a good reputation academically in Indonesia. As well as Gadjah Mada there are good private universities, national academies and colleges - established first by the government and later by the private sector. These provided education for over 100,000 tertiary age students in 1990.²⁷ Because the environment is favourable for education and the cost of living is cheap compared to the other cities in Java, many parents from Java and outside Java try to send their children to study in this city.

As a tourist centre, Yogyakarta is the second destination for overseas visitors to Indonesia after Bali (Booth and Damanik, 1989). Many of these are domestic tourists from other parts of Indonesia, although foreign tourists are also quite visible in Yogyakarta.

Indeed, Yogyakarta has undergone many changes in recent years. This can be seen from the emergence of many modern new buildings in the main roads of Yogyakarta city (Jalan Malioboro and Jalan Solo) such as hotels, shops, restaurants, offices, banks, movie cinemas, karaoke bars and discotechs. Not only has the infrastructure improved and the

²⁷ According to the 1990 Population Census, in the city of Yogyakarta with a total population of less than half a million, nearly 120,000 young people aged 19-24 were enrolled in educational institutions.

number of new buildings increased. But also there is an increasing number of urban middle class women who work in the professional occupation.

Education and tourism have encouraged the growth in service industries in which educated, professional women play an important part. Women work as teachers and university lecturers, managers in hotels, restaurants, art and craft shops and tourist agencies, and in banks and other financial institutions. However, industrial activity is not large compared to the other four capital cities in Java and provides less opportunity for women to work in manufacturing and related activities.

This is different to Yogyakarta in the 1970s. At that time not many women worked in the professions except as teachers or as government administrative employees (MacDonald, 1975). This was partly related to the perception of working outside the home among the urban middle class. It was also related to the type of jobs and opportunities available. There were strong perceptions among the urban middle class regarding the type of jobs which were suitable for their status in the society. For example, they did not favour working in private sector jobs in business which often involved spending long hours away from the home.

In the 1980s and 1990s, it seems that the middle class want to own many luxury goods as part of a new life style and as a symbol of status in Indonesia (Tanter and Young, 1992). In Indonesia, many professionals now hope to own a car, a house, a stereo set, and a range of electrical equipment for their house. And many have a modern life style which is often pictured in the media, such as on television or in popular and women's magazines. Many big cities in Indonesia are growing and as a result more professional women have begun working in the service industry or in the private firms, the number of which have been growing very rapidly. Given the increasing number of educated women in the work force, it seems that many more are now prepared to work in private companies than in the past.

This trend also applies to professionals in the city of Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta is one of the big cities in Indonesia. The number of cars has increased on the roads,²⁸ and not surprisingly, the drivers have also changed. In the 1990s, a lot of women to drive a car in Yogyakarta. In the 1970s, upper and some middle class women moved around the cities assisted by a driver. Now, many prefer to drive the car themselves. This change in life style is one sign of much greater freedom of the middle class women now, compared with their mother's generation.

Working certainly makes professional women more independent. They have opportunity to show themselves in the public world, and not just follow their husband in society. But still professional women are expected to help their husbands in the office, such as in wives organizations carrying out some functions such as ceremonies for important national days. It is quite difficult for professional women in high positions if they have husbands also in high position, because these women sometimes have to be the head of the women's organization in their husband's office such as Dharma Wanita, and PKK(Family Welfare Development Program).

Social and economic changes also influence professional women and their families in their life styles. This leads to greater expenditure on clothes, sport, recreation, and food consumed outside the home. The children from this class have become more attracted to the 'western' fastfood outlets which have emerged recently in Yogyakarta, such as McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Pizza Hut. These have tended to replace traditional foods which are usually sold by hawkers. Many working women now do not have time to do many household chores. There are also many facilities to help them to make the household jobs easier. By the early 1990s, many women had washing machines, rice cookers, microwave, gas stoves, vacuum cleaners and electric irons.

28 In the early 1990s, there were over 20,000 passenger vehicles registered in Yogyakarta province, over twice the number registered 10 years earlier (see the Central Bureau of Statistics, The Indonesian Statistical Year-book, various years).

There is a growing industry in food, clothing and hairdressing. These industries have grown to provide some services to meet the needs of professional women, which opens up opportunities for other middle class women to work.

It is hard for a middle class family to rely on a single salary in Yogyakarta where owning luxury goods has become a status symbol. This might be one of the reasons why many middle class educated women are working as professionals, especially in quite a small, status conscious city like Yogyakarta. The dual income family has become much more common among the professional couples.

Two other features of Yogyakarta are important for this study of professional women. As noted, the cost of living, housing and transportation is still quite low in the city of Yogyakarta, compared to other big cities in Java such as Semarang, Surabaya, Bandung and Jakarta (Booth and Damanik, 1989). Also the wages for labourers are relatively cheap compared to these other cities. Because of these relatively low costs, working women can still afford to have servants. Second, Yogyakarta is still quite a small city compared with the other major cities on Java. Thus it is much easier for women to travel to work and to retain close links with their extended family than in some other larger cities.

III. WOMEN'S WORK AND SOCIAL CLASS IN JAVA

Javanese society is well known for its social stratification. Koentjaraningrat (1984: 229-234) mentioned that there were traditionally three major groups of people in urban areas in Java. These were: 1) the commoner (*tiyang alit*) consisting of labourers, hawkers, petty traders etc., 2) the *saudagar* or the entrepreneur, such as the batik industry traders and manufacturers, who were mostly devoted Muslims, and 3) the *priyayi* who consisted of the *pegawai pangreh praja* (government official) and more recently included professionals who have university degrees, such as doctors, lawyers, university lecturers

and school teachers. Of course, this is a simplification, especially since the country has developed rapidly in recent years. There are now many secular and powerful businessmen (and women), and the group described as *tiyang alit* consists of a variety of socio-economic groups, including a growing number of industrial wage workers and small businesses (Robison, 1995).

Many writers dealing with the role of rural women in Java stress their important role in household economic affairs and in maintaining social relationships. Geertz (1961) stressed the role which women play, and their power in the household, through controlling family budgets. Women generally keep the household money in all classes and according to Hull (1976: 11) the decision on how to spend it is either made jointly or by the women themselves. ²⁹] Stoler (1977: 85) quoting several studies of Javanese society notes that "... women clearly control family finances and dominate the decision-making process".

The role of women in society also depends on social stratification and class structures. My study deals with professional women who mainly come from the *priyayi* class, now part of the urban middle class. Their role in the household is different from those women who come from the lower class or *tiyang alit*. According to studies by Hull among housewives on the urban fringe in Yogyakarta (1976) and by Stoler among the lower class rural women (1977), urban and rural lower class Javanese women have traditionally had more freedom and autonomy in the household compared to middle class women. Middle class women were not encouraged to work outside the home because of the economic and social status of their husbands.

Lower class women are heavily involved in work outside the home especially in rural areas. Stoler (1977: 88-89) showed that the income earned by females in households

²⁹ Many rural Javanese now keep their savings in local banks, and it is possible that men tend to exert greater influence because bank accounts are more likely to be in their name.

owning very small amounts of land was greater than that earned by males. Women were especially involved in trade, and to a lesser extent in casual agricultural wage labour and home industries. Hull (1976: 7) found that whereas only half or less of more educated and upper income women at various ages worked, 70-90 percent of poorer women in the same age groups worked for a living. Stoler and other researchers have shown that women dominate petty trade not only within but also outside the village. 30]

The main reason given for women's involvement in economic activities is poverty. Households cannot survive unless women (and children) are actively engaged in wage labour and self employed activities. But Hull (1976) also notes that there is no social stigma attached to women's work and no clear division in the types of activities undertaken by men and women. The engagement of poorer women in work outside the home also means that there is not always a clear division by gender in domestic roles: men are often engaged in child care activities while women work. Thus Hull (1975 quoted in Schiller, 1978: 31) notes that in early mornings

"One of the most common sights is a man in his *kain* (sarong), standing or sitting in his frontyard, carrying a baby in a *slendang* (shawl) tied across his shoulder, perhaps feeding rice to a young child at his side"

Also there is often overlap between the domestic and public spheres. For example, budget decisions made by women include payments for wages in rice and family enterprises, and for labour exchange. For example, Brennan (1991) describes how women manage household and business expenses in the batik industry, even among households where husbands are formally in charge of the business.

The important economic role of women and especially their access to cash wages (rather than the product of joint labour in household enterprises) means that women have greater autonomy and independence within the household. One important indicator of this is the

30 See especially Peluso (1980) and Chandler (1985) on the geographical mobility of rural Javanese women who sell their goods in regional towns and cities.

much higher rate of divorce (often initiated by women) among lower classes (Hull, 1976). Lower class women are less affected by social stigma regarding divorce, and because of their work experience much less dependent on their husbands for economic support than middle class women.

This situation among poorer women is contrasted especially with that of middle class women. Hull (1976) notes how the latter were less likely to work unless they more socially prestigious white collar jobs. Since many middle class women were less well educated and could not get these jobs, improvements in the household economic situation could lead to female withdrawal from the work force.

More generally in rural society, the fact that women do not work provides social status for the household. This shows that the husband can support his own family and "being a housewife is a privilege, indicating one is free to stay at home" (Hull, 1976: 8).

At the beginning of this century, seclusion was a common practice from the time of puberty among the upper class (*priyayi*) women. This was the basic institution which the Javanese princess Kartini condemned in her well-known letters which argued for the right of women to an education beyond primary school (Rahardjo and Hull, 1984: 116). In the *priyayi* families married women were only permitted to work within the home in traditional industries such as batik.

The life style of middle class women who stay at home to maintain household affairs is inherited from the colonial era when the wives of Dutch government officials were discouraged from working outside home because of their husband's status (Rahardjo and Hull, 1984: 116). As education spread, however, the involvement of *priyayi* women in civil service jobs, teaching and other female white collar jobs became more common.

In the 1950s and 1960s, many women went to vocational school especially to study home economics. These schools prepared women to be wives and mothers, by teaching subjects such as cooking, sewing, decorating and child care. At this time there was also still a tendency for parents to arrange the marriage of their daughter (Kasto, 1982). Arranged marriages were quite common among the Javanese middle class households since the women could be married to someone whose background was known by their parents.³¹

In part, the continued focus of many middle class women on the home has been influenced by strong pressures within society for them to have children as soon as they are married (Rahardjo and Hull, 1984; Kasto, 1988). Early involvement in child rearing means that it is difficult for many to develop a career early in their working life.

Before the New Order period (1965-66) not many middle class women worked in the professional occupations, partly because not many women had a higher education. Most women were likely to be married in their teenage years and to have between three and seven children. Among the priyayi, having many children gave higher status to their parents (Koentjaraningrat 1984: 100). It showed that the parents were wealthy enough to support them.

Although these women did not work, they played an important role in the family affairs. Women handled all the household's money given to them by their husband from his salary and the additional income which he earned. The wife was entrusted to use this money to run the household. She had to be able to budget all the household expenditures for food, school fees, pocket money for the children, electricity bills, petrol, servants salaries, money for contributions, gifts and outlays for emergencies.

31 In Java parents try to marry their daughter by looking at the three Bs: *Bobot*, *Bibit*, *Bebet* (their prospective son-in-law's influence and standing, social origin and status, and their knowledge and wisdom).

Although they were not formally employed, the housewife often helped the household economy through informal business activities - such as selling prepared food and snacks for parties, selling cloth, gold or jewellery, and involvement in land and house sale transactions (Sullivan, 1994: 30-37). These were conducted among friends, neighbours and relatives. Although such activities were quite common among these middle class women, they often denied that they were working. They often described such activities as only killing time while looking after the children and managing the household, even though they could make substantial income from such activities. They often sent snacks and other home produce to local shops or traders on a regular basis.³²

Another economic and social activity which help women in managing her husband's income is the joint *arisan* (rotary credit association) group.³³ These activities help women if they want to buy expensive household goods. Among the middle class - in contrast to lower class women - *arisan* does not mainly involve winning cash but often some household goods such as dinner sets, table-cloths, bed spreads, etc.

Upper class and educated women have traditionally derived their status from the public position of their husband. Women who are married to men who have a high public profile also have a high public profile in women's organisations, business and social activities. As already noted, women married to senior civil servants automatically became the head of the national women's organisation in their particular offices (Woodcroft-Lee, 1983).

32 Brennan's (1991: 184) study of batik merchants in Laweyan Solo, showed that women may move easily between home and the market (public) domain which can be interpreted as a move between *halus* and *kasar*. She also found that many husbands of batik merchants in pasar Klewer Solo prefer to stay at home rather than work in the market. They wanted to maintain their status as a *priyayi* with a refined, reserved attitude rather than doing business which can cause loss of control and *kasar* words or actions.

33 *Arisan* are usually conducted every month. Each member makes a financial contribution to a pool (contributions were usually around Rp.50,000 - 200,000 among upper middle class women in Yogyakarta in 1994) to be collected by the person in charge of these activities. The winner is drawn by lottery and takes the total pool. This procedure is repeated until all members have won the *arisan* once, and then a subsequent round is initiated.

These women were also regarded as playing an important role in helping their husband's work in the public sphere. A woman is defined with respect to the support that she is expected to provide to her husband not only through her work in the domestic sphere but also in her support of his public sphere activities. This is captured in the popular Javanese expression *konco wingking* (lit. a friend behind). Thus it is said that many women lead from behind.

In recent years, the increasing number of more educated, urban women - those who generally have some tertiary schooling - have a range of potential occupational choices and many of the jobs which they can obtain offer the chance of a career. Among educational groups, labour force participation rates are highest among upper secondary and tertiary educated women in urban Indonesia as well as Yogyakarta (Jones, 1986). In most cases, their jobs involve work away from the home. The potential conflict with the national ideology of 'good mothers and home makers' is much greater than for rural women.

As a result, women seem to have improved their situation in the job market. They have positions as managers in real estate, banking, insurance and other services. It has been suggested that this is because women have better verbal and communication skills which are needed in new industries. (Asian Wall Street Journal, 8 September 1993). It may also be because of the increasingly high levels of education of women, who have participated in very rapid educational expansion.

However because Yogyakarta is not a commercial, or an industrial city, most professional women work in the government, as university lecturers, school teachers, or work in banks or in small services businesses. Now with the growth of the tourist industry in Yogyakarta, some professional women work as managers in hotels and in travel bureaus.

Some recent magazine articles emphasize that many Indonesian and Javanese women are a 'success' in their careers, measured in terms of Javanese values. In these terms, success refers not just to career and advancement but also a stable relationship with their husband, the children doing well at school, and the family being economically better off. Many women really enjoy their new role and status because their efforts in the public and domestic domains are recognised (*Warta Ekonomi* 4/10/93: 38).

Rahardjo and Hull (1984: 121) mention that a highly educated woman's job should be of at least slightly lower status than her husband's, and that a man should never marry a woman who is more educated than he is. There is some concern among the professional couple if the wife has a good job and has a higher salary than her husband. Conflict can occur in the family, if the husband does not accept that his wife's salary and position is higher than his own (*Femina* 28, 21-27/7/1994). To avoid conflict, however, the wife usually does not make this known, in order that she will not hurt her husband's feelings, as the head of the family. Women, earning more money than their husbands is not something new in Java.³⁴ However, because more educated wives often work in jobs which are regarded as having a high (independent) social status, their higher income might worry their husbands more than among women working in more traditional jobs.

In the 1990s professional women do not work for financial reasons alone, although the money they earn is essential for many to be able to sustain their life styles (*Warta Ekonomi*, 4/19/93 :37-38). As a result of working, they feel more independent, they like power and want to be in control of their life. They obtain prestige, recognition, and money from their work. They are energized by their success.

Although many women have professional careers, their primary responsibilities as housewives and mothers is frequently stated in the media, by the government and by the

34 For example, often the wives earned more money than their husbands among the traditional trader families (Brennan, 1992).

women themselves. Public roles should be consistent with those in the domestic sphere. For example, the President's wife told women journalists attending a training course that they should not neglect their duties at home or the education of their children whilst carrying out their work (Manderson, 1980: 83). Lee (1983: 177) notes that in spite of an Islamic woman's achievements in the public sphere, she is nevertheless expected to play the role of a "devoted wife and concerned parent" at home.

Even well educated, professional women tend to place themselves primarily in the domestic sphere. For example, Rahardjo and Hull (1984: 119-120) report that when asked about their most important achievements in life, the majority of well-educated wives of university professors in Yogyakarta gave answers concerning their husband, children and home.³⁵

IV. CHANGING ROLES AMONG EDUCATED WOMEN

In Yogyakarta, it is common that many professional women come from families in which their parents are also well educated - university lecturers, school teachers or government officials.³⁶ As the Indonesian economy has improved and more educational opportunities are available, other groups such as traders and small business families have begun to educate their children to the highest levels - both because of status considerations and also because of the modernisation of services and manufacturing processes.

Tertiary students also come from the traditional batik families. Parents are now more determined that their children have a better education than their parents, regardless of their sex. For example, Marcoes-Natsir (1996: 158-163) describes how one prominent

³⁵ It is common for Javanese women to be told that even if they achieve a high education, they will end up in the 'kitchen'.

³⁶ For example, Mujiani and Handayani (1992) found that most women who are sent to study overseas come from a family background where one of their parents worked as a lecturer, teacher or public servant.

medical doctor, and her siblings, were encouraged to obtain a high level of education and develop a career which was quite different to that of their parents in a successful *batik* household in the religious *kauman* region of Yogyakarta

Among the middle class, parents tend to place emphasis on education which gives children access to white collar jobs, especially in government administration. Social status is enhanced by the educational achievements of children. Parents will proudly tell of the educational achievements of their successful children and graduation ceremonies are major events in the social calendar. If the children of middle class families are educated and have important jobs in the society, their parents will be very proud of them.³⁷

The high level of education of many Yogyakarta women has contributed to some different patterns of family formation compared with many other regions of Indonesia. Marriage age among these professional women appears to be quite high in Yogyakarta, compared with the traditional pattern of early age at marriage which existed in the 1970s (Kasto, 1988). There is some indirect evidence on higher age at marriage from the 1990 Population Census. Mean age at marriage among all females rose in Yogyakarta from just under 21 years in 1964 to over 24 years in 1990 (Jones, 1994: 80).³⁸ In 1990, over half of all urban Yogyakarta women had married at age 20 or over compared with less than 40 per cent for all urban Indonesia; urban Yogyakarta women also had a higher percentage (12 per cent) of women who married at age 25 or above according to the census (Series S2).

37 Sullivan (1994: 28) also reports that urban *kampung* women "value education very highly.." but notes that many girls do not go beyond lower secondary school.

38 Age at marriage was highest in Yogyakarta of all the provinces of Indonesia in 1990. Jones (1994: 92) found that women with at least an upper secondary education married on average two years later than the average for all women on Java. This would mean that many educated women were probably marrying at around 26 years old in Yogyakarta around 1990, although age at marriage was probably even later for tertiary educated women.

Among the professional families nowadays, the average number of children is smaller than it was among their parents, and even compared to *priyayi* families two decades ago. As we already noted, the middle class are used to having many children as a status symbol (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Professionals prefer to have only two or three children partly because of the high cost of educating their children and problems which large families create for professional mothers.³⁹

Changing Perceptions of Professional Work

As we have noted, women's status has undergone many changes in the New Order period. It used to be a status symbol of wealth for the wife of the middle class Javanese non-traditional *priyayi* not to work, such as among professional men who work as government officials or lawyers, doctors, or university professors.⁴⁰ Since 1967 work outside the home in professional and white collar jobs has become common in Java and female participation rates are higher than in most other regions of the country (Jones, 1986).

Nowadays among educated Javanese women, staying at home and looking after the family is less desirable. For educated women, staying at home to be a house wife is wasting their talent and money which their parents have already invested in their schooling. They want to work to use their knowledge and to get some money so they become more independent. They want to be recognized and to show that women can also hold a high position like men (*Warta Ekonomi*, 4/10/93: 35-53). The new status symbol in the Javanese society among the middle class women is working in a professional occupation, or doing business which is regarded as having a high status (such as modern services, catering, travel agents, hotels, and guest houses). Career

39 The number of children which they choose to have is consistent with government policy to encourage a two or three child family (*catur warga* or *panca warga*). But it seems unlikely that government policy has much influence on their decisions in this respect - except perhaps that above the third child the family no longer receives a rice allowance for children.

40 The distinction between *priyayi* and non-traditional *priyayi* is made by Koentjaraningrat (1984) to distinguish persons who are directly related to the *Sultan's family* and those that are not.

women who work in the professional occupations show a pattern of later age at marriage (Jones, 1993:81).

Their views regarding women's roles are now also changing. Although they are still concerned that women's prime role is as a mother and wife, working outside the home is important for their own status. They are not just proud to be a wife of an important person, but also as a professional woman they want their talent to be recognized in society (*Warta Ekonomi*, 4/10/93: 35-53).

Many studies of urban Indonesia show that women are mostly engaged in professional jobs which are traditionally monopolized by women (teaching, nursing, and secretarial and clerical occupations). However, Tan (1991) notes that although the percentage of women's work force participation in Indonesia is still low, there are now much greater opportunities for professional women to pursue a career in the 1990s than a decade earlier.

There has also been a flourishing of the women's magazines which try to attract women readers with many articles about professional women and career women. This is also likely to influence women's perception about the new role of women in the family and society in Indonesia. Hatley's study (1994: 238) noted that women's magazines such as *Femina*, *Kartini*, *Sarinah*, and *Dewi* seem to influence the aspirations of the increasingly affluent, educated middle class, who wish to gain modern knowledge and skills. *Warta Ekonomi* found a rapid increase in the number of executive women in Indonesia, their age was mostly still young and many of them were under 40 years old. Many of them had a stable career and family and also had high salaries (*Warta Ekonomi*, 4/10/93:35-53).

These magazines mostly cover articles about women who work in Jakarta. They have some influence on their readers who are middle class women in the cities such as Surabaya, Bandung and Semarang. They are also widely read among middle class

Yogyakarta women. Articles and columns with a focus on the professional women are especially attractive to readers aspiring to enter the work force.

Although these magazines cannot be used to represent the situation of all professional women in Indonesia, there are some messages which professional women appear to heed regarding what they need to do to pursue a career.⁴¹ If these role models of professional women who appear in the magazines can be a success in their professional job, why can't other educated women be like them?.⁴²

V. DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL ROLES

Javanese middle class women have traditionally been regarded as responsible for the household and maintaining social relationships, even if they are engaged in economic affairs and have servants to help them (Geertz, 1961). This was manageable among households where the middle class wife - *priyayi* or *santri* - had traditional jobs around the home. This included industries such as batik, or trading, which were mainly organised by women from their home. The question which arises is what happens when women such as professionals examined in this study have major responsibilities outside the home? Are they still expected to assume the major role for organising the household? How much do they depend on servants, husband and extended family? How does this affect their relationship with their husband, children and with the community?

In the final section of this chapter, I will suggest briefly some of the main strategies which Javanese and Indonesian middle class and professional women have adopted to help balance their career, family and social responsibilities. This provides a backdrop to

41 McDonald mentions the importance of the media for the social change in Indonesia as one factor which influences educated women to delay their age in marriage and pursue their career first (Jones, 1993).

42 Also, to attract the reader, the magazines illustrate the glamorous life style of some professional women.

examination of how women in my sample in Yogyakarta region adjusted to the demands of professional careers.

Managing the Household

In Indonesia, many women who work as professionals and have to go to work at fixed times still assume responsibility for managing the household affairs. Raharjo (1975) noted that many professional women face a dilemma. If they want to pursue a career they have to stand with one foot in the home and the other foot in the work place. Some other studies mention that becoming a career woman in Indonesia or in Java is not a major problem for these middle class women because they can afford servants and they often get some support from their extended family (*Jakarta Post* 22/12/94: 2 ;10/3/96:9). This is quite different to Western working women for whom help is limited.

Managing the household is not only regarded as important for the welfare of the family but also for the way the family displays itself in the community and extended family. It involves 'proper and neat' clothing of children, polite behaviour among children, and maintaining the physical appearance of the husband which is in keeping with his social status.

Professional Javanese women could be expected to have a life style which is different from the professional women who live in Jakarta or in some of the other more westernised big cities in Indonesia. These differences apply to the attitudes and *tata krama* (manners, social etiquette) related to Javanese culture and the many rules in this culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). For example, children are taught from a young age about proper social relationships, respect for older people, how to dress, how to interact with other children, and how to treat seniors.

Among Javanese women (and men) there is still a desire to have a child immediately after they get married (Rahardjo and Hull, 1984). Women are expected to have children

regardless of their professional or other work responsibilities. However, pregnancy is generally not a major problem for middle class women, because they usually have servants to help with the household chores and enable them to return to work soon after childbirth. There is even more advantage if their parents live closeby, since the mother will help their daughter during her pregnancy and after child birth.

Professional women mostly work before they get married. Because many parents invest money in their children's education they prefer that their children get married after finishing university. However it is not uncommon for educated women to get married (and have children) before they finish their university or other tertiary training.⁴³ In this case they are strongly encouraged by their parents to complete their degree.

Children from the middle class families tend to be brought up differently from children from the lower class. Children have less freedom playing around the neighbourhood than if they live in the **kampung**. The middle class professionals often live in the real estate housing complexes mostly occupied by households from a similar background in which frequently both the couple are working. The children from this class go to top state schools (*sekolah favorit*) or to private schools run either by Catholic, Protestant or Moslems. It is not common in Indonesia for children from middle classes to go to local schools which are not regarded as good schools. There appears to be no major difference according to gender in educating children from this group - males and females have similar opportunities to attend school, although females may get less opportunities where parents are forced to make a choice because of economic or other reasons.

43 Often marriage takes place early because young students become pregnant and since abortion is quite rare marriage is generally the preferred option. This is probably less common in the 1990s as knowledge (and use) of contraception practises has become much more widespread. However, several authors have suggested that premarital intercourse appears to be increasingly common among young people (Hull and Hull, 1987).

Children from professional families now tend to live differently to their parents when they were growing up. Their parents were used to having their mother at home guiding their homework and social activities. Professional women are rarely at home and must rely on many other means to supervise and keep their children busy. With new technology, television has become the main form of entertainment when the children come home from school. Children often watch television without adult supervision. The *servants or pembantu* do not have authority to tell them not to watch the television. Some professional women are worried about the impact of the television on the children, especially violent and sexually explicit films. Also commercial television has many advertisements which introduce children to consumer goods and this influences their attitudes in favour of 'western' foods compared with those prepared in local stalls or by hawkers. Among children of middle class families, consumption of Western food has a high status. Restaurants such as Kentucky Fried Chicken, Pizza Hut and MacDonalds - which have all been established in Yogyakarta over the past 10 years - are often full of teenagers. Among the young, eating at such places is one of the 'trendy' things to do.

Maintaining Social Relations

Java is generally regarded as a matrifocal society where social relations are maintained through the wife's family (Geertz, 1961; Keeler, 1990). How is this maintained among women who are fully engaged outside the home? Do social relationships tend to break down among extended family or neighbours if the women is in a full-time professional job?

Professional women cannot attend many social activities because they do not have enough time. There are some activities which are automatically compulsory if they are working for the government or their husband is working for the government. If the woman does not work in the government but her husband does, she automatically becomes a member of Dharma Wanita, the women's organization run by Indonesia government (Sullivan, 1994). She is therefore obliged to attend meetings of the

organisation which organises social functions, *arisan*, business activities, and courses for the wives of civil servants (Sunarto and Buchori, 1996).

Other social activities include those sponsored under women's organizations such as PKK and usually apply to the *kampung* or immediate residential area. These are also generally supported by the government and run by the wife of the Camat (sub-district chief). Professional women will usually make financial contributions to PKK activities rather than participate directly and may sometimes be involved as advisers. Activities of the PKK tend to be focussed on supporting government programs (and ideology), such as family planning, health and nutrition and various courses, although some observes remain very sceptical of the impact which they have on the welfare of urban *kampung* dwellers (Sullivan, 1984).

Another activity is *pengajian* (koranic recitation meetings) for Moslems. These meetings are not something that professional women have to attend because sometimes the time does not suit them. But there are some *pengajian* which are conducted to cater for the professional groups or professional women. These are usually conducted once a month, and many Moslem professional women try to attend this activity because they believe that it is good for them to keep up with their religion. Also this prevents other people from talking about them or saying that they are too materialistic.

There is some obligation for women, if there is a death in the neighbourhood to come to help or just to pay their respects. They will be an object of gossip if their neighbour dies and they do not come to pay their respects. Usually if someone dies they will send some tea and sugar to contribute to the guest's drinks.

Although many professional women make every attempt to participate, if only from time to time, in social activities, they still face a dilemma in allocating time to such activities in a busy work and household schedule (Djamal, 1996: 242). This is especially so if they

continue to live in a traditional urban setting. There is much less social pressure on women in the new housing estates, however, where social activities are often adapted to the busy routines of working women. But, although professional women tend to be very busy, there are ways in which they can still fulfil their social activities and maintain social networks.⁴⁴

It is especially difficult if a professional woman happens to be the wife of a prominent person in society. Their role is not just as a housewife and worker. They also have many roles required of them in society. Sometimes they are appointed the chairperson of one or two charity groups, or they have to be the judge in some activity to get some money for the charity.

VI. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have argued that social and economic changes which have occurred in Yogyakarta over the past two decades have had a major influence on the occupational patterns and household management of middle class women. Attitudes to working outside the home have changed as women have more access to education and a wider range of professional jobs. Consumption patterns have also changed and women have greater demands for income than in the past. It seems that women place greater value on independence and the status that new jobs bestow on them. Working outside the home now has greater social acceptance than in the past. In addition marriage patterns and the size of the family has adapted to the demands of professional jobs.

How women adjust their family responsibilities to the demands of their professional jobs is the main focus of my examination of the case studies in the next chapter. In particular, I am interested in how different groups of professional women who entered the labour

⁴⁴ For example, they send family members to represent them at meetings or social events, and send money, gifts or contributions to *slametan* and other neighbourhood activities.

force in the 1950s and 1960s contrast with those who obtained professional jobs in more recent years. To what extent has the changing social and economic environment and related values affected the role of women in managing the household? What are the different strategies adopted by women to deal with the demands of their careers and their households?

CHAPTER III

MANAGING THE HOUSEHOLD AND PURSUING A CAREER: CASE STUDIES FROM YOGYAKARTA

I. INTRODUCTION.

In the introductory chapter I referred to studies among professional women in the western world and Indonesia which argued that women still hold the main responsibility in managing the household and raising the children. Even though increasing numbers of women pursue a career in professional occupations, in many families there is not much change in the role of men and women toward household responsibilities and raising the family. Many women in the western industrial countries feel that working and raising a children is a double burden or a second shift. They demand some change, wanting their husbands to become more involved in the household and raising the children.

As discussed in Chapter 1, according to studies in western industrial countries men have become more involved in the household and family, but women still hold the major responsibilities. Husbands are happy to help but they have to be trained, and the wife has to keep reminding them of their responsibilities. This is not necessarily because men do not want to help around the house or take responsibility. But on the other hand the women themselves often do not encourage men to take more responsibility around the house and nurture the children.

This chapter shows how a group of Javanese women manage the family and their careers. It also shows how husbands help support their wife in achieving their career goals and raising a family. There are some differences in managing the family and pursuing a career between these professional women in Yogyakarta and professional women dealt with in case studies in western countries, referred to in Chapter 1. In the west, many women had to do all the housework and raise the children with limited help, while

Javanese women mainly manage the tasks. The execution of jobs is mainly conducted by servants and baby sitters.

Before I start with the case studies, I make some general observations regarding how Javanese professional women managed their roles as a mother and wife during three different time periods: the 1950s and 1960s, the 1970s and 1980s, and the 1990s. There appear to be important contrasts between these different generations of women.

Not many women went to university in the 1950s and 1960s compared with the 1970s and increasingly in the 1980s. At that time they mainly just finished high school and were married at a young age - often in their teens. The number of children tended to be higher among the early generation of women. The Soekarno government encouraged couples to have a big family (Hull, 1994). For these urban middle class families, the number of children on average was between five and six. Also there were not many jobs around for women, beside government jobs.

In the 1970s, as the Indonesian economic development gathered pace, there were more opportunities for women to pursue study at the tertiary level. More women went to work, they finished university degrees and many found jobs in the rapidly growing government sector - in schools and universities, in banks and government offices. Their view of women's work also changed: there was a greater variety of jobs for women in the public sector.

In the 1980s, with the spread of television and the mass media, the urban middle class began to be more oriented to consumerism. The media began to focus on 'career' women (*wanita karir*), especially in women's magazines such as *Femina*, *Kartini* and *Sarinah*. The model career women portrayed in these magazines was a mother and wife with a small family, who had a university degree and owned a modern house in a housing estate,

and where husband also worked as professional.⁴⁵ Urban educated women wanted to follow a career. At this time, there were many more opportunities for women to pursue further education and the government provided scholarships for many people, including women, to do higher education.

Middle class life styles began to change increasingly into the 1990s as women saw themselves not only as a mother but also as a professional worker who could help supplement family income and also have a career. The absence of women from the home also shaped the model of the family, which was rather different from the family in which the woman is at home or works at home. Sharing responsibilities between the husband and wife was more likely to apply to a professional couple than a more traditional urban family in which only the husband had a career.

Women in this era had more opportunity to pursue a career. But on the other hand these women also faced a disadvantage because they sometimes lacked support from their extended family. This was especially true if the mothers of these women were still active in their own jobs. Servants were more difficult to get and they made more demands regarding their working conditions and salaries compared with the more passive, accepting servants of the 1960s and 1970s (*Kompas* 16 July 1993).

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS⁴⁶

It is useful to think of the sample of women falling into three groups. The first group of four women - which I will refer to as the group of younger women - were aged in their thirties and had two or three children who were still in primary school or below (except

⁴⁵ For example, the *Kartini* fortnightly magazine runs regular features on successful educated women such as Dr. Sjafrida Manuwoto (a Dean at the Bogor Agricultural University), Professor Sri Rejeki (a Law Professor in Semarang) and Dr. Sumiati (Head of Archeology, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta). See *Kartini* Nos. 564 (1995), 527 (1995) and 572 (1996).

⁴⁶ The names of all the respondents mentioned are pseudonyms.

for Ibu Suwanto).⁴⁷ All had been married for five years or more and most of the women married shortly after graduating from university at the age of 25-30. They worked as university lecturers, in the private sector and in government administration. Their husbands were all tertiary graduates and worked both in the private sector and in government administration. They all lived in new housing estates or areas on the outskirts of Yogyakarta. In all cases (except Ibu Susilo) the family form was nuclear although all households had servants - usually two - to look after their children and help them with housework.

The second group (four women) were aged in their forties and included one woman aged 51. All these women only had two or three children; two married and had children before they graduated from university. They worked as lecturers, government officials and one was a bank manager. All their jobs were in public sector - the lecturers were in state universities and the bank manager worked in a state bank. They all could be said to be close to the peak of their careers - beside the bank manager, two were directors of government offices, and one was a university dean. Their husbands were also all professionals.

The children of this second group were in high school or university at the time of the interview in 1994. They lived in relatively new housing estate areas or in housing provided for senior government officials. In all cases other family members - usually cousins - lived with them and helped with chores around the house in return for board and payment of their schooling fees.

The women in the last group were much older (two were aged 63 and one 73). They had been senior officials and parliamentarians and all were still active teaching at university level. Two of them had 7-8 children while the third older woman only had two children.

⁴⁷ In this group Ibu Suwanto was an exception. She married and had children much earlier than the other women and she was more advanced in her career.

Their children are all grown up and all have grandchildren. Their daughters all work in business or as professionals. Their children all live in separate households but they have other family members who live with them and help with chores in return for board (like in the second group).

III. THREE CASE STUDIES

My respondents all differed in the way they balanced their family and working lives, although there were some regular patterns of contrast between the three groups mentioned above. I found there is some difference among these groups of women in managing the family, in their husband's perception regarding the role of women in managing the household, and different types of work they conducted. All these things influenced the way in which women managed the family. Younger women tended to have clearer ideas about their career. Managing the household and looking after their children appeared to be more oriented around the work commitments of their mother. Also there was more discipline and rigid following of time schedules among the younger women in managing the household compared with the older generation which still used the Javanese term "*alon-alon asal kelakon*" (slowly but surely) - they do not want to rush to finish something but rather complete jobs slowly and carefully

To illustrate some of these points in detail, I provide a brief summary of experience in child upbringing, household management and work history of one example from each of the three generations: first, Ibu Susilo who had children and embarked on a career in the 1950s/60s; second, Ibu Suwanto whose career began from the mid 1970s/80s and finally Ibu Heni who still had young children and was beginning a career in the 1990s.

To set the stage, I will note some contrasts between the older and younger women briefly before discussing the careers and household management of each woman. The older woman, Ibu Susilo, has had a successful career in the 70s as a director of a state company

and her husband also worked as the director in a government firm. She had six children. One factor in the success of her career was the support from her husband who always encouraged her to work. The other factor was that she had a very capable and trustworthy servant who supervised other servants in looking after the household and her children. Ibu Suwanto also attributed much of her success to her husband's support of her career whereas her mother played the major role in managing the household and many day to day arrangements for her children.

There were several important differences between the younger and older case studies which provides an example of some of the differences in challenges faced by those who entered the work force in the 1960s and 1970s and those educated women looking for work in the 1990s. Ibu Susilo gave birth to eight children and raised five children to adulthood. She lived in a well established area of Yogyakarta - the Islamic *kauman* area close to the palace - and worked very regular hours in a government job. Ibu Suwanto and Ibu Heni had three and two children respectively, and worked in private sector banks and universities, and lived in new housing areas (Ibu Suwanto in a modern housing estate).

Also important to note that economic and social conditions were quite different for the older women and younger women when they were raising their families and becoming established in a career. The respondents over 50 experienced economic difficulties during the period of the Old Order government. At this time, middle class women were encouraged just to stay at home for family reasons and for the status of the family if it is wealthy enough to exist on a single salary. At this time, status (among many middle class Javanese) was associated with working as professional in the government. It was not common for women go to university because they still believed that a woman's place was in the home and higher education was not something most women wanted to achieve (or were encouraged to do by their families). There is a saying in Indonesian that "setinggi-tingginya wanita mencapai pendidikan akhirnya juga akan jatuh kedapur" (However high a

women's education, in the end she end up in the kitchen). But this view had changed by the 1990s. Among the younger generation, my respondents mentioned that all their friends went to university, finished their degrees, and worked before they married. In contrast, most of my respondents aged over 40 finished university after they married and some finished after having children.

Professional women from both older and younger generation mentioned that it was not hard to pursue a career. But they have to be able to face the demands of the job and combine this with their expected role as a mother. The older women in particular had to be strong to face criticism and social pressures which discouraged working women, especially women who also wanted to pursue a career. For example, neighbours and family questioned how do women who were often away from their husband and children manage the family. These social pressures have changed nowadays because of the increasing number of women in the workforce pursuing a career.

I start with the case of an older women, Ibu Susilo, then Ibu Suwanto and finally a younger women, Ibu Heni.

THE 1960s and 1970s: Ibu Susilo

Ibu Susilo is aged 63 and is a Muslim. She lives in a traditional family home close to the palace and close to the traditionally Islamic residential area in Yogyakarta (*Kauman*).⁴⁸ Her mother was a prominent *batik* entrepreneur originally from Solo, a major city close to Yogyakarta. She was thus raised in an atmosphere in which a woman's role was important in economic affairs. Her father helped her mother in the batik business.

She studied Chemistry at the major state University in Yogyakarta and graduated from there in 1957. During this period it was not common for women to take a degree in

⁴⁸ The centre of Yogyakarta was traditionally the Sultan's palace or *kraton* and the the *kauman* area is located close to the major mosque to the west of the palace. The major shopping area is located just to the north of palace.

chemistry since this field was mainly dominated by men. During her student days she was active in student organisations. She married before she graduated and had her first child in 1956. Subsequently she had eight children, two of which died (one son in a motor bike accident, and one of her twin daughters when she was a baby). One of her daughters was adopted by her sister who could not have children. So she only brought up five children to adulthood. The age of her children ranged from 25 to 38 years in 1994.

Her husband was the Director of small metals workshop (based on scrap metal) run by the provincial government, and is now retired. However he is still a lecturer in various state universities in the city.

I categorise her as a very dynamic Javanese women, for a woman of the 50s generation. When she was student, she worked as an assistant lecturer in the faculty. She was always busy outside her life as a student. In her spare time she also made some pocket money by selling handicrafts such as embroidery, handkerchiefs and table-cloths which she made herself.

Ibu Susilo also owns a small batik factory which employs about ten women doing *batik tulis* (traditional batik) and about four men doing the processing (dyeing and finishing) after the batik process is finished. After graduating, she worked for Batik Research Institute (*Balai Penelitian Batik dan Kerajinan Kulit dan Pengembangan Industry*). This institute was built by the nationalistic Soekarno government with the aim of developing the local industry in conjunction with government policies to try not to depend on foreign industry.⁴⁹

49 During the Sukarno era, the women's movement was regarded as quite important. Many women's organisations emerged such as Gerwani, Kowani, and Pertiwi - some of which were aligned with the mass-based communist part. This development was related to the period before and after independence when women were involved side by side with men in opposing the colonial government.

Not long after she began work she was offered the job as Director of this institution in the 1960s. During this period the batik industry was given a lot of support by the government and she was encouraged to develop this institution as an independent research centre to support small producers.

Batik is well known as an industry in which women play an important role. In this industry women are the managers and most employees are women. Some men work in this industry but in tasks which require physical strength. The marketing is usually conducted by women. In the Kartini era and before - up to the early part of this century - batik was a skill which women associated with the palace and should learn before they got married (see in chapter two). Some Javanese women owned batik factories while their husbands worked for the Sultan of Yogyakarta. Their husbands did not get high salaries but they had high status because they worked for the Sultan.

Working as director was very hard for Ibu Susilo. This institute only had a very limited budget at that time. Many people thought that research for batik and handicrafts was a symbol of backwardness, and some people and friends questioned why she worked there. But her work was appreciated by the President Soekarno and she gained some recognition from this attention to the work of the Institute. When there was a dispute in the main state Teacher's Training Institute (IKIP) in Yogyakarta after the 1965 political coup (which led to the downfall of Soekarno), she was offered the job as director. She agreed to take this job for one year and took leave from her job in the Batik Research Institute. Subsequently she went back to her old job.

She was the director of this institution for almost 20 years. During her work as the director there was often criticism of her work. She felt that this was partly because she was a woman and this attracted envy from her male colleagues due to her senior position. She said that as a woman director she had to work harder because male colleagues wanted to get rid of her ("*sontleng*" which in Javanese means thrown out of the job).

She also mentioned she had to work very hard to update herself as a director by taking some courses in management and training. Some of these were held in cities outside Yogyakarta. This sometimes required time away often from her children and husband. She had a trusted servant woman who was in charge of looking after her children during her absence and a servant to help this woman. This nanny stayed with her through the period of the children's upbringing.

During her period as a director, her husband was also the director of a company so that both worked as executives. This was quite rare for Indonesian couples at that time. This also meant that they had enough money to employ helpers. This was a great support and enabled her to focus on her work outside the home.

Managing the Children and the Household.

Because she worked for a government office, Ibu Susilo regularly went to work at 7.45 AM and finished at 2.00 PM. She returned home at 2.15 PM. This was her routine. The fixed work schedule in the government office was a great help in allowing her to manage the household and devote sufficient time to her children's needs. When the children were small, she discussed the household arrangements - including the food for the day - and gave a list of shopping to her trusted servant, and she checked her children's school work to make sure that everything was done for the next day.

Even though Ibu Susilo was often away from the children, she was able to 'monitor' or check up on what was happening with the children by telephone. During that period not many households had a telephone, so she was very fortunate. This really helped her in managing the children, if she was not present. She taught the servant to use the telephone, how to receive telephone calls and relay messages.

Servants at that time were very loyal to their employee and were considered part of the family. Ibu Susilo's servant was her mother's servant who looked after her when she was a teenager. Servants nowadays are different from servants at that time. Today, young women often choose the work of a servant to enable them to come to the city - they are usually recruited directly from the village by middle class families. But because there are often other job opportunities, they use this chance to establish themselves in the city and then move to other jobs such as a factory worker or a shop assistant. These other jobs are likely to be available to young women if they have primary school or junior high school certificate.⁵⁰

Thus having a trusted servant was one of the luxuries available to a small number of Javanese professionals in the 1970s when Ibu Susilo was at the peak of her career. However, there were also problems associated with being away from the family. She said that she heard gossip from her friend that her husband had a mistress because she was away so much, which she thought came from male or females colleagues who were jealous of her position as career women. She felt they spread the gossip hoping she might quit her position as director. However, she did not really believe that her husband was having an affair, although it worried her at the time. Gossip was often faced by career women related to their absence from home. They often heard some rumour that their husbands were playing around with another women who could give more attention to him.

Ibu Susilo knew of some cases where the husband took another wife. But she said that this mainly applied to men who wanted more attention from their wife. For example, the husband always wanted his wife to be at home when he came home from work, be ready

50 Improved levels of schooling among village women thus was beginning to have an impact on job mobility of servants.

to keep him company for lunch (formal working hours were 7 a.m to 2 p.m.) and always be ready to attend to his needs if he needed some help.⁵¹

Although Ibu Susilo bore the responsibility for the welfare of her children and management of the household, she felt her husband supported her efforts at home. There was a division of labour in managing jobs. Her husband - who is a mechanical engineer - looked after all maintenance of the house, tending to electrical problems which often occurred at that time and repairing cars.⁵² Her husband usually helped to look after children's bicycles and later motor cycles. He also helped with the children's school work and homework, which she said was quite unusual among men of his generation who usually left such jobs to their wives. Because they had six children to raise, they shared the jobs between them in looking after the children's school work.

Later, when Ibu Susilo had more commitments associated with her job, she felt she was also very fortunate to have a daughter who could help her to look after her younger siblings. Her daughters also learnt how to sew and do handicrafts in their spare time and during the holidays.

Among the Javanese, women have considerable influence over the children. They are responsible for the children's welfare and up bringing (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). This starts from when the children are infants until adulthood. If something happens to the children, the woman often concludes that she failed to look after them. On the other hand, men are not expected to play an important role in bringing up children, and there tends to be a distance and a much more formal relationship between father and child.

51 During the Soekarno period, long before the new marriage law was passed in 1974, there were few legal obstacles to men taking a second wife, and it was quite accepted as within social norms among the middle class.

52 They owned two cars which was exceptional among most Yoygyakarta families in the 1970s. They owned two cars so that Ibu Susilo could easily move around the city without depending on other people, such as driver and her husband. Because she was busy in her job and also had many business commitments associated with her batik factory, driving a car really helped her

Ibu Susilo felt she faced major problems whenever one of her children became sick and she had to stay at home while still performing her job.⁵³ This was very difficult for her, especially in the early years when she had just been appointed to the director's position. Some of her male colleagues commented that this was the problem with a female director - she was absent from the job when the children needed her.

If the illness was not very serious Ibu Susilo could manage. She took her children to the doctor in the evening or early morning and got the medicine and gave instructions to her trusted servant about the medicine. But if the illness was serious, she had to work at home. Despite some criticism, because she was senior and working in a government office, she feels she had more flexibility than many other more junior female workers in her office.

The accident to her fifth son who died of a motorcycle accident was a major regret. She blamed herself to some extent, feeling that she did not spend enough time with him. She wished that she had spent more time, such as doing home work together and taking him to activities outside the school - which she was able to do for her daughters at an earlier stage in her life when she was not so busy. Her son did not do very well academically during his teenage years. Ibu Susilo felt that her son did not do well at school because her job at the research centre was starting to develop at that time and she was at the peak of her career. She was often away for meetings or had to leave town for a few days. Also her husband was busy with his job as a director at that time. Although there was a trusted servant who was in charge looking after the children, Ibu Susilo feels that her son probably missed her presence during his teenage years. As a result, he was often away from home with a gang of friends who liked to race each other on their motor bikes. This eventually resulted in his death.

⁵³ This was also mentioned as the major problem among high level career women in New York (Lubin, 1987).

With her four daughters she felt she had no major problem. They were all good at their school work and at university study. They were all top students in their class and also were often chosen as student representative's of their class. But she felt that her two remaining sons - both of them younger than her daughters - did not receive enough attention.

Nevertheless, she claimed there is nothing wrong with a woman working hard and pursuing a career. The important thing is she has to be very disciplined in using her time so she will not neglect her children. She was still very proud that all her surviving children graduated from university and felt that this was proof that she had been 'successful' in looking after them.⁵⁴ Ibu Susilo is exceptional among her generation in having a two career family in the household and at the same time all her children finished university.

According to Ibu Susilo, a woman who has a career has to remember her *kodrat* (destiny) as a women, that is not to forget her children and family. Ibu Susilo. said that 'we are eastern women' and this means that women should look after the family - implying that 'western' career women tend to neglect their children and family responsibilities. She didn't agree that husbands should play a greater or a more equal role in bringing up the children. In her view, this was mainly the responsibility of the wife and mother. But her view of western women mainly came from the films or popular magazines which are mainly based on the life of film stars or other celebrities who frequently experience marital problems and whose children suffer as a result. She had no appreciation of the problems faced by normal working housewives in western countries.

However, Ibu Susilo. felt that it is harder for a career women to discipline and bring up children in the 1990s. This she feels is because of the development of the new

⁵⁴ One indicator of success among the educated urban middle class is the educational achievement, especially finishing university.

technology, especially television, which means that it is hard to train children to do 'useful' things, such as sewing and making things in their spare time. This observation was based on her experience with her own grandchildren. This is especially true when the mother is in the office and servants do not always have enough authority to stop children from watching television. Ibu Susilo's comments about television were directed at 'soap operas' which children often watched in the absence of their parents. Often the movies involved violence and had sex scenes and the servant did not have enough authority to stop the children from watching television. In her time, even when she was very busy, the television only started at six o'clock in the evening, so parents could supervise the children.

The 1980s: Ibu Suwanto

Ibu Suwanto was born in 1956, and was aged 38 in 1994. She first studied at the School of Secretary and Management in Solo near Yogyakarta and then took an MBA further away in Semarang, about 120 kilometres from Yogyakarta. Unlike Ibu Susilo, she has moved a long way from her traditional urban environment in Solo. She lives in a new middle class 'housing estate' on the outskirts of Yogyakarta. She said that all contacts with neighbours are minimal since most women who live in the housing estate are also working.

She married very early, in the first year of her tertiary education and her first child was born during her second year. She has had three children. Her oldest child was studying in the USA as an exchange student (AFS) in 1994, whereas the second and third children were in High School

After finishing her study, Ibu Suwanto worked as a secretary in the Department of Irrigation which at that time had a project with a Japanese company to build a dam on the Solo River just outside the town of Solo. While she was working as a secretary her mother supported her, by looking after her two young sons.

After she finished working with the Japanese company, she worked for several years in one of the big state banks, Bank Bumi Daya. She felt that her experience working for a foreign company would help her to pursue a career in the bank. The work environment in a Japanese company which is strictly supervised and very disciplined helped her realize that "If you want to be successful you have to work hard and stick to it." Foreign work attitudes are regarded as very tough for many Indonesian employees, especially among former public servants who are often criticised for being too slow, not having discipline or being unable to meet rigid targets.⁵⁵

Ibu Suwanto was very determined to pursue a career. After she had started working she decided she would have to do a postgraduate degree to further her career. This involved distance study, commuting from her home city of Solo to the larger city of Semarang every weekend. This lasted for one year and after that she did a research project to complete her MBA. The flexibility of teaching hours helped her to attend the lectures in Semarang.

The education climate in Indonesia had changed from Ibu Susilo's days. Many more private institutions offered education by the 1980s. Some private academies or universities opened distance education to cater for the needs of professional workers wishing to do further study to upgrade their professional skills. These courses were good for professional women because they could pursue their studies outside their work time, and they had servants to look after the children and their husband.

⁵⁵ Many private companies nowadays try to adapt foreign work attitudes which they think efficient and very disciplined. Although the requirements for working in a private company or foreign company are very demanding, many Indonesian want to work in these companies because of the higher salaries they can earn. Many private banks in Indonesia have women managers because they think women are more capable and more patient in dealing with clients.

Ibu Suwanto felt lucky that her husband had been very supportive toward her career and allowed her to go away every weekend for one year. Her mother stayed with her while she was studying. Her husband's job as a musician and business entertainer meant he often had time to look after children while she was absent.

When her husband was not busy with his job, he often took her to Semarang. Or sometimes her children came with her. But mostly she went on her own and left the children with her mother. She told me that while she was studying she went to bed around two o'clock in the morning every evening. It was very hard work for her.

After she finished her MBA she got a job as a branch manager in the privately owned Danamon Bank in Yogyakarta. Her move to Yogyakarta was accompanied by her husband, children and mother. This seemed to follow a different pattern of jobs taken up by younger professionals compared with women who entered the work force in earlier decades. Younger women like Ibu Suwanto worked in private rather than public institutions and appear to have been paid much better.

As a *pribumi* (non-Chinese Indonesian), she was very lucky to get this job because the bank belonged to a *non-pribumi* (Chinese-Indonesian) businessman who mostly employed Chinese staff. It was very hard for *pribumi* to gain a high position in the Chinese company. As a female, it is normally doubly hard to achieve a high position in a bank which belongs to a Chinese.

This lady was quite exceptional, however Ibu Suwanto described herself as a career women, not just as a professional working woman. She mentioned that she distinguished between professional women and career women. According to her, professional women work without a clear goal to achieve more senior positions of responsibility. Ibu Suwanto wanted pursue a career in the bank. She hoped that one day she could be a bank manager in a big private bank in larger commercial cities such as Bandung, Semarang or Surabaya.

At the time of my interview, she told me she was going to move to another bank in Magelang as a Bank Manager for a new bank called Universal Bank. She was offered double her salary at that time, and a more senior position in the Bank.

Managing The Children And The Household

In her present job, Ibu Suwanto works from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon. Her mother is a widow who stays with her and can supervise two servants who look after her children - such as giving them breakfast and helping the children getting ready for school. Her mother also looks after the meal for the day, although she usually discusses the menu with Ibu Suwanto the previous night. As a career women, the help of her mother appears to have been a decisive factor for her. Unlike Ibu Susilo, Ibu Suwanto was generally free from managing the house, because her mother looked after this.

Thus her jobs at home mainly involved various aspects of her children's education. She supervises the children's homework, attends parent-teacher interviews or collects reports from school.⁵⁶ Also she takes the children to the shop to buy clothes, shoes or stationery. The children prefer to go with their mother than with the father because she is more patient. Her husband's role mainly consists of doing things which she cannot do, for example fixing the car, bicycles, and the roof. Her husband who is a musician and entertainer, also deals with the neighbourhood matters such as attending meetings related to community affairs. He is usually at home at times when his wife travels out of town.

Although she is very busy with her work, Ibu Suwanto says she always tries to keep in touch with her children's school teacher. For example, if there are interviews between

⁵⁶ She mentioned that some parents send their driver or servant to collect the school report she said this is not good for the children because they gain the impression that their parents don't care about school reports.

parents and teachers, she always makes some time with the teacher so she can get information about her children's academic ability at school, or their behaviour at school. However, she often cannot attend fund-raising events at her children's schools. But she does give some contributions in the form of money, so that even if she cannot attend the function, at least she makes contribution to the school. Her children are very proud of their mother and Ibu Suwanto says they never show regret if the mother has to be away often. They know their mother works hard to earn some money for them, and the money will pay for their education and their privileged life style.

Unlike Ibu Susilo's children, Ibu Suwanto's children and family enjoy expensive consumption patterns. The children have the latest computer games (such as 'Sega' and 'Nintendo'), expensive clothes and shoes and they spend a lot of money on leisure activities such as swimming in 'five star' hotels. They quite frequently enjoy some of the trimmings of 'western' lifestyles, such as eating at the Pizza Hut or MacDonalds. Young professional couples have to work for private companies and both have to work to be able to afford such a life style in Yogyakarta.⁵⁷ This has become a trend in Indonesia especially in the big cities. The demand for such consumption patterns is influenced by new technology such as television and especially women's magazines which the children are exposed to.

Ibu Suwanto mentioned that in her job there is no discrimination between men and women. The important thing is on ability to do the job. She mentioned that in Indonesia now (ie. 1994), many women pursue a career in the bank, and many of them become managers. Ibu Suwanto argues that the reason for this is that women tend to be more flexible and practical in meeting the customer's needs. She also mentioned that she worked very hard to get more customers to the bank.

⁵⁷ In Jakarta, such lifestyles may be experienced by senior government officials who have 'access' to large projects and aid funds (Robison, 1996).

Until now she has never had a major problem regarding her husband. The only problem that she mentioned was criticism from her husband's brother. He often reminded her that it is not good to be a career women. because she neglected her family. As a bank manager Ibu Suwanto often entertains male customers. She always tells her husband about this because she does not want to have a conflict with him. Because her husband is a musician, and often mixes with singers and actresses, he also inform her if he has to go on tour with a singer, so she will not get jealous. There is some gossip about her being quite often seen in public with different male clients in restaurants. This often leads to suspicious questions from the neighbours or friends regarding the kind of job she does. She mentioned that people still ask questions if they see a married women having lunch with a man not her husband. Such incidents often become gossip which has to be faced by career women, even though increasing numbers of women in the professional occupations need to entertain clients for lunch or dinner. This trend has not yet been accepted by the wider society in towns like Yogyakarta.

The 1990s: Ibu Heni

Ibu Heni was born in 1962, in 1994 she was 32 and had two children under five years old. She has degree in Agriculture and her husband is a economist who works for the state Bank. Ibu Heni works as a lecturer in a private university. She worked for one year before she married. When her children were born she was head of the academic section in the faculty.

At the time of the interview she was doing a master's degree. Her university gave her a scholarship and leave for two years to complete her studies. This study leave is helping her to manage the household and raise her daughters. While she attends lectures, her servants look after her daughters. She goes to attend lectures at Gadjah Mada university - the major state university in Yogyakarta - in the morning around 9 o'clock and comes home at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Sometimes she has to go back to the university in the

late afternoon between four o'clock and six o'clock, but most of the lectures are conducted in the morning, so in the afternoon she is mostly at home with her children.

Before she took up studies, her hours of work were from eight o'clock in the morning until two o'clock in the afternoon six days a week (with the exception of Friday and Saturday when lectures finish earlier). She teaches twice a week in the afternoon for two hours from four o'clock until six o'clock.

She feels that balancing family and career so far is not a big problem, as long as she has a servant. Ibu Heni took three months paid maternity leave for both her births. She told me that she took leave two weeks before her second daughter was born and 10 weeks leave after the birth. Her reason for taking most of the leave after the birth was that she felt she had a chance to take care of her daughter before she went back to work. She breast fed her baby but she also gave her baby milk in a bottle. She wanted to prepare her baby for bottled milk when she went back to work and the servant would give the child the bottled milk.

Most children of professional women are bottle fed. This group of women do not breastfeed for a long time - the longest was 6 months. They were not concerned about the effects of bottle feeding. Partly this is because they had relatively little option if they left children at home with the servant, and partly they were not exposed to information on the possible side effects of bottle feeding.⁵⁸

Problems arise for Ibu Heni if the servant leaves because she has to ask her mother to look after the children while she is working. From the time of her marriage in 1989, the

⁵⁸ Indeed all the women in my sample took up to three months paid maternity leave in cases where they gave birth to children after they had begun to work for the government or a private employer. However, they usually worked until they were almost ready to give birth so they could have a longer period with their children after birth. Maternity leave is by no means universal in the private sector, especially among younger and less educated women. Some women are recruited on the condition that they will not marry or have children at least for two years after they are recruited.

main problem she has faced has been related to the turnover of servants. At the time of the interview in 1994, she had recently experienced the turnover of three servants in as many months. The household was in turmoil on several occasions and her husband was late for work - which was most unusual. This shows how much their life style is dependent on the presence of servants.

But even at these times, she can still manage to pursue a career because her mother does not live far away from her house. She left her children with her mother when she went to work or attended lectures. Ibu Heni's mother is a widow. Although her mother earns some income selling jewellery, land or houses on commission, she is still able to help Ibu Heni with baby sitting - especially in emergencies or at special times such during the Ramadan fasting period when most servants return to their village.

Ibu Heni's attitude towards the role of women in the household is not very different from Ibu Susilo. She also believes that a woman's main role is managing the household and raising the children. Even though many of her friends work and want to pursue a career - in contrast to the situation when Ibu Susilo was beginning to bring up a family - she still believes that the children and family are her responsibility. This does not mean that she allows her husband to be free of responsibilities. He is also required to help, but she acts as the manager. She believes women should adjust work to family commitments. For example, she studies in the early morning before the children are awake and then at night after they go to bed.

There are some differences in managing the family and household between Ibu Susilo, Ibu Suwanto and Ibu Heni. Among the two older women who brought up their children before the mid 1980s, servants were more loyal and more likely to stay for a relatively long period - at least two years or more in the 1980s, and much longer two decades earlier. Families could not rely on servants nearly as much in the 1990s. Servants were also more demanding - for example, washing machines, gas stoves and electric pumps for

water were all preferred by more choosy applicants for jobs. Ibu Heni also reported that they were less loyal and stayed shorter time periods.⁵⁹

Although Ibu Heni has two servants at home, she has put her older daughter in a play group since she was two years old to help her daughter to socialize with other children under the supervision of a teacher. Although the play group only last two hours, she believes that being with the servant all the time is not good for a child's social development. Ibu Heni thought that the servant does not have enough time to play with her daughter while doing all the housework. This was quite a progressive view, since many women would feel that sending children to a play group was a needless expense.

At the time of my interview, her husband was also starting his career and he was often away outside the city doing some banking training. When I interviewed her, her husband was away for a month in Jakarta doing some training. At a time like this, she depends very much on her servant and her mother. She realized that this would happen and she was prepared to face this fact because they had discussed some of the problems they would face as a dual career family.

It seems the younger generation couples like Ibu Heni and her husband are probably more likely to discuss their family goals and career plans before they marry. They are more likely to plan their family and their careers.

IV. HOW DO WOMEN MANAGE?

The three case studies showed the woman's extended family, servants and husbands all played an important role in helping them combine professional work with responsibility for managing their households. It is useful to see how important each of these factors has

⁵⁹ To try and encourage her latest servant to stay longer, Ibu Heni agreed to free her from all cooking responsibilities.

been among all the women that I interviewed. I will examine the role of mothers and extended families first, then servants and finally the role of husbands.

Role of the Woman's Mother and Extended Family

Among this group of professional women, extended family is very important for their chances to pursue a career. This is especially the case if the women have to go outside the city for long periods, for example one month or more. Family support is especially important if both couples are career oriented. The presence of extended family, usually the mother of the woman, can be very valuable for career women.

Sometimes it is not easy for professional women to be away often, because they are criticised by the neighbours about their absence and neglect of their children and husband. But mostly my respondents did not receive such criticism, partly because they lived in an environment in which many women also worked as professionals.

One of my respondents (Ibu Ninuk) who was selected to study outside the city told me that she was very reluctant to leave her three young children aged nine, seven and two years old to pursue her studies. But she added that to reject the offer to do further study is very stupid because many people apply for this opportunity. "If I did not take it, it would be a wasted opportunity to develop my talent. I discussed it with my husband and he supported me. He said to ask my mother if she was willing to stay with him and the children during my absence. I did this and she accepted."

The help of extended family benefits the woman and their family. For status and financial reasons, the family are proud of a woman's achievements when she studies for a higher degree or takes courses to improve her job prospects. In addition, these professional couples can often help other family members - for example to pay school fees of their siblings, or nieces or nephews. In return, these family members stay with them and help look after the children.

In a small city like Yogyakarta most of my respondents have their parents living close by. In the case of an emergency, they can rely on their mother to help solve the problem or contact them quickly.

However, in raising children, I found that there were different patterns between older and younger women. My respondents said they all received some help from their mother and servants. Among the older generation, all the women were helped by their mother, and a trusted servant played a central role in raising the children from the birth of their children until adulthood. As noted above, trusted servants were less likely to exist among the group of women who have just started their career, and so they were sometimes more dependent on their mother or other extended family members.

All the women in the older group of women and some in the second group got a lot of help from their mother and extended family when their children were small. The younger group had less help from their mother - even though they often needed it more - and were forced to rely more on servants or baby sitters. This group is in the generation of children whose mothers in some cases are professional women and are still active in their jobs. So the woman's mother could not help her daughter as much as her own mother had helped her.

Thus, for example, Ibu Susilo mentioned that she didn't help her daughter with the upbringing of her grandchildren because she was still busy with her own job. Her daughter employed a live-in baby sitter. Because of her position as a consultant for the World Bank in the provincial government she had no trouble in affording the extra cost of a baby sitter.

The respondents said that children are their responsibility, so they decide how to raise the children and who looks after them on a day to day basis. However these decisions were

usually made after consultation with her mother rather than with her husband. Thus although the woman's mother was not always involved physically in helping with children's upbringing among younger women, the grandmother continued to play an important role in providing advice about how to raise children.

While managing day-to-day schedules and the life of the children are mainly the wife's responsibility, most of my respondents said their mother usually stayed with them after childbirth until their baby reached 35 days of age.⁶⁰ This was especially true for the first baby. During this time, the woman's mother showed her how to care for the baby, such as to settle the baby down when it cried, taught the servant how to give the baby a bath, change and clean nappies and showed them how to clean and sterilize the baby's bottles (among those women who did not breastfeed their babies).

The help of the woman's mother was also very valueable for them in conducting life cycle ceremonies for their children. These ceremonies involve a lot of tasks, like cooking large amounts of food to deliver to the neighbourhood. Older generation women received help from their mother, and mothers usually do the cooking with the help of servants or neighbours. However, younger women who do not have support from their mother, nowadays order the food from catering businesses for these ceremonies, and then deliver the food to the neighbours.

Servants and Baby Sitters.

Most of the women I interviewed had different servants to carry out separate duties. One looked after the children and cleaned up the house. Another was normally more senior and was responsible for cooking and shopping, and preparing food.

⁶⁰ Mothers usually stayed to help the woman give a traditional Javanese life cycle ceremony which usually occurs 35 days after the birth.

Household servants play a major role in releasing the women from many of the labour-intensive tasks associated with child rearing. One servant may spend most of her time looking after the infants. A servant is usually in charge of looking after the baby during its waking hours. They usually carry the baby around (*gendong*) while they are awake, give them a bath and put the infant to bed. Servants in charge of looking after the children usually give them a bath in the morning, then feed the children, then play with them until the children get tired. Finally they put the children to sleep.

Some tasks were shared between the servants and the women themselves. The servant gave the children a bath and fed them or took the children for a walk. The mother would take care of the children herself for some of the time after work, and when the servants were off duty (during their meals and at night after around nine o'clock at night when the servants go 'off duty').

Not all my respondents left the servant looking after their baby while the mother was at work. Some of the younger women hired a baby sitter to look after the baby. They employed a baby sitter because baby sitters are trained in child care, they are more educated (at least a junior high school degree) and experienced and are able to make decisions about food and general care during the mother's absence. For example, this was case of one of my younger (aged 32) respondents, Ibu Tuti, who did not have support from her mother who lived in a different city.

One woman, Ibu Zamroni, had two daughters under five years old. She employed a servant and baby sitter. She could not rely on her mother because her mother was still quite active with a part-time job and in social charities. Because the mother wanted to pursue a career and the children were still small, she sent her children to a play group from the time they were two years old.⁶¹

61 In the city of Yogyakarta some private business opened play group centres to cater for professional working women from the 1980s.

Not all professional women are able to afford a baby sitter or child care service because the fees are quite expensive. The cost of a baby-sitter is almost double that of servant, and not all the women in my sample said that they could afford a baby sitter.⁶² Baby sitters usually only do jobs dealing with the infant and do not perform any household jobs. The family has to hire a servant separately to perform other household jobs.

Three other of my respondents also put their children in a play group. These children go to the play group from 8.00 until 11.00 am. Although it is not for a long time, the women told me this was better for the children than leaving them the whole day with a servant. Like Ibu Heni, Ibu Zamroni (mentioned above) believed that putting her daughter in a play group would be better for her children's social and intellectual development rather just leaving her with a servant. Ibu Zamroni worked in private sector banking and her husband was a lawyer. This made it easier to afford child care. They also received some financial support from their parents which Ibu Zamroni saw as a form of compensation, because her mother could not help looking after her grandchildren.

Servants played a key role in getting children to and from school. Ibu Heny told me that her servant took the children to the playgroup by *becak* (pedicab) when her husband was unable to do so, because her house was close to the playgroup. Another respondent took advantage of private transport (*antar-jemput*) services run by a woman with a mini bus. The bus picked the children up from home and then dropped them back after school. In another case, the husband took the children to the play group and then the servant picked them up and went home by public bus. In some cases, the servant came with the children to play group and waited until they were ready to go home.

62 Baby sitters need to have a certificate which is approved by government before they can work with an agency as a 'baby sitter'.

The combined income (with their husband) of professional women who were just a few years in the workforce was not enough to employ a baby-sitter. These women asked their mother or mother-in-law to supervise the servants while looking after the babies, sometimes at their parents house. As noted above, servants are very important among the younger group in bringing up children. since these younger professional women do not always get much support from their mother as experienced by the older generation.

Husbands

Is there a man behind every successful woman? In listening to and observing my respondents, it seemed to me that the result would be quite different for each one of the women without their husband in the picture. His involvement was often indirect. But it was also important in times of minor crises - such as when servants left or went home for a holiday - when men were needed to help look after the children and even sometimes with domestic chores. Because of the presence of baby sitters and servants, most men of the professional couples included in my sample - especially the older men who already had a high position and a high salary - were usually free from the domestic duties.⁶³

Nevertheless, in talking about the husband's role in the family I also make the distinction between husband's role in the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s. This is related to social and economic change in Indonesia generally, and Java especially. On the surface, it seems that the husband's role in the household did not change. But there are a few changes which I can see in the role of husband among my respondents. Among the older group of women - Ibu Susilo's generation - there was still a strong perception that the husband's role is earning income to provide the family needs. Not many women had a university degree, so they mainly stayed at home, looking after the children and the household. Also in this era status was associated with women not working, as Valerie Hull (1976) found in her study of a village on the fringe of Yogyakarta city. Staying at home

63 This was not always the case however, especially among younger men (see below).

demonstrated that husbands were wealthy enough to provide for their families. Also, women did not work because many of them had large numbers of children.

By the 70s, the role of the husband had started to change. More women started to participate in the workforce and also the number of children they had was smaller (Hull and Raharjo, 1984). Among the younger group of women, the husband tended to be more involved in looking after the children compared to husbands in the group of older women. The husband's involvement was also related to the fact that the wife was more likely to be working and husbands tended to accept that they had to share more of the responsibility for the children. Less help from their extended family and mother-in-law, and the sometimes uncertain nature of servant support, also meant that husbands were required to give more help around the house in those families who were bringing up children in the 1990s.

The husbands of the younger group tend to be more involved with jobs around the house and looking after the children. They often shopped together with their wife, went to the doctor together or sometimes the husband took the children shopping or to the doctor with their servant, in the absence of his wife.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, all my respondents said that the husband's main role in a Javanese family is to earn income to support his family. Although the wife also worked, their income was viewed as a supplement to their husband's income. If by chance their income is higher than their husbands, they will not declare this. Ibu Yaya (aged 43) told me that her income was higher than her husband's, but she would never mention to him or other family members that she was the main provider for the family.

64 For an article which suggests a similar pattern among some high profile younger generation husbands in Djakarta see the magazine *Dewi* January 1992: pp. 10-12.

Social factors play a role in other ways in influencing the nature of the husband's contribution to the household. For example, if the husband does a job that women normally perform, the servants or other family members say "ora elok" (Javanese) - it is not appropriate for men to do things that women usually do. Ibu Yaya told me that one time her husband washed the dishes and cooked the food while she had a visitor. The aunty criticised her for letting her husband do that work. She explained that he let her have a rest and took over her household jobs because their servant had just left and she was tired.

However, some of the husbands were involved in helping the household. In times of 'emergency', such as when they do not have a servant, most of the husbands helped their wife managing the household and looking after the children. There is a division of labour regarding these matters. Husbands usually do tasks such as washing clothes, sweeping the compound, playing with the children, whereas the women cook, iron, bath the children, and dress them. Shopping is conducted by husbands and wives. The men drive the car and look after the children while the wife does the shopping. However the above tasks are only conducted by the men in the absence of the servant. Normally, men do not have set tasks, outside their work.

Some men also played an important role in managing the household when their wife was away. For example when Ibu Diana (aged 39) was away for 18 months studying in the Philippines, her husband took over the entire management of the household, including all matters related to raising their two primary school age children. He was helped by his mother-in-law who lived nearby, but she did not live with the family in the absence of her daughter.

The husbands of most of my respondents regularly attended neighbourhood meetings concerning neighbourhood security and the welfare of fellow residents. Every year the neighbourhood holds an activity to celebrate Indonesian independence - an activity in

which all the citizen have to participate. Almost all the husbands of respondents were involved in this activity.⁶⁵

Husbands of my respondents also often were entrusted with looking for schools for their children. In Yogyakarta (and in Indonesia more generally) the school which children go to - mainly government schools - is very important not just for academic reasons but also for status. Looking for a good school is very time consuming and involves money and making use of personal contacts.⁶⁶ Men are more likely to have connections (*koneksi*) to get the children into the desired school (*sekolah favorit*). Also men are likely to be more involved in this activity if women are often absent. For example, Ibu Tina's husband - who was a doctor and had many contacts - was entrusted with this responsibility because his wife was often away in Jakarta.

Education for the children is very important among these professional couples, and they try hard to send the children to a good school. It is often miles away from their house but this seems not to matter to them. Where the school children go is very important for them as a status symbol.

V. CAREER AND HOUSEHOLD

My respondent's working hours were mostly from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. for 6 days a week. Some respondents have different hours which start from 8 a.m. and go through to 4 p.m., and sometimes later if they have to work overtime.⁶⁷ Lecturers had fixed working hours

65 In a few cases, some husbands did not participate in this activity. But they paid someone to replace them or they gave some money as a contribution.

66 Good secondary schools were those that had a good success rate in getting children into university. They were generally the older and more established state schools, charged much higher fees and had stricter academic entrance requirements than other state schools.

67 Those women who worked in the bank, as a consultant for government or had projects with international bodies such as the World Bank worked more overtime.

(mostly from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m.), although they sometimes gave lectures in the late afternoon, sometime until 7 p.m. in the evening.

Overtime work is generally not a problem for the professional women because the husband is usually already at home. Sometimes a problem occurs when the husband is away, and the children are under the age of five years old. They often complain if their mother has to go to work again in the late afternoon. The children of mothers who work in the bank or of other government officials are used to seeing the mother come home in the late afternoon, so they do not often complain of their mother's absence.

It is much harder for women if they have to stay at work until 8 to 9 o'clock in the evening - this means they are very dependent on their mother, servant or husband for both preparation of dinner, the children's homework and getting the children to bed. Nevertheless, according to one respondent (Ibu Diana), professional women in Yogyakarta find it easier to manage compared with the professional women who live in Jakarta. As I have mentioned, Yogyakarta is not as crowded as other big cities in Java, and does not have major problems of traffic and distance. But from a career point of view, most of my respondents mentioned that a move to Jakarta would mean better career prospects and a higher income.

One woman, Ibu Tuti, told me that their two sons complained if she had to go back to work. This often caused conflict with her husband because the children (aged five and three) became restless and wanted to accompany their mother to her office. Sometimes if she had an urgent meeting which would disturb the family routine, she took them and her servant and they waited outside the office and played with the guard. She said that she was lucky because she had a high position in her job and the staff tolerated having the children around.

One constraint for a career women is if one of the children is sick. Fortunately, if the illness is not very serious she can take her children to the doctor, get the medicine and give instructions to her servant about the required medicine.⁶⁸ But if the illness is very serious, she has to stay at home, and work at home if possible.

Nevertheless, having children is very important among the group of professional women in my sample. They all had children relatively soon after they got married and all had two children or more. They did not view children as a burden, even though having children made their life much more difficult to manage. If married women do not have children for a while after marriage, they are asked by many people why they do not have children yet. If they answer because they want to pursue a career, there will be much criticism that career women are going against their *kodrat* or pre-ordained role to have children and manage the family.

In this respect, they differ from many Western career women who often pursue a career first and then have children, or who do not have children and even do not marry. In Indonesia, women are still widely expected to marry and have children and it is quite rare - although not unknown - for professional women not to marry. If professional women do not have children, it is usually because they (or their husband) are unable to have children.

One woman (Ibu Tuti) expressed a hope that she could have a career when the children were at least at primary school age. At that stage, it would be a lot easier to leave the children, if she had to be away for work purposes. However, one of my respondents had to leave her daughter who was only two years old, but her husband was willing to look after the daughter with the help of the wife mother. She was away regularly for two weeks at a time studying for her master's degree.

68 Many medical doctors have private practises which open early in the morning and in the evening (outside the doctor's official working hours in the hospital), thus making it easy to consult and obtain prescriptions.

Nevertheless, having small children under five years old is a problem for these career women because the children often get sick and want their mother. For example, Ibu Tuti was in a conference in another city as one of the speakers and organizers when she was called to go home because her son had to go to hospital.

Nevertheless having an independent income is important for the women in my sample. They all mentioned that their parents convinced them of the importance of earning money so they are not too dependent on their husband - even though all the women in the sample tended to manage household expenditures. Ibu Yaya told me that she had an income before she got married, when she had to support the education of her siblings because her father died just after she finished university. She did not want to argue with her husband about supporting her relatives, and felt free to give some of her income for this purpose.⁶⁹

Problems in the Work Place.

Many studies about Javanese women show how women are subordinate to men in the work place. My respondents did not feel that this was a major problem. All worked before they got married, took paid maternity leave during pregnancy and resumed work after marriage. Their pregnancy did not threaten their jobs, although I was told that nowadays women working in banks or the private sector are required not to have children during their first year of employment - this challenges the traditional pattern of have children immediately after marriage.

Professional women, especially those in high places, frequently experience jealousy from male (or female) colleagues or from her seniors. They often face challenges from their male colleagues in meetings or in conferences. They are often asked some difficult

⁶⁹ However, Ibu Yahya also mentioned that in Islam the husband's responsibility is to earn income and the wife is to manage it - she felt that a women's income should be regarded as a family supplement.

questions, or some impossible questions. Ibu Tina who works as a Director of the Department of Mining Office, feels that a lot of men do not like women having a high position, especially in positions that males usually dominate. They still have a perceptions that the man is the head of the family and they make a joke that women do not need certain jobs or projects because they are just too hard for them to handle, given family responsibilities. Ibu Tina said that male colleagues often tried to put women down by mentioning responsibilities to the family as an obstacle to career achievement.

These comments make women think twice about their ability. For example, Ibu Yaya was advised by her male colleague not to "*ngoyo*" or work too hard because if you often leave your husband and children eventually your husband will look for another woman who can serve him better than you.

To sum up, this chapter has stressed the considerable ability of professional women in the sample to manage their double role without leading to major conflict's with their husbands. Managing to meet social expectations regarding their family role and at the same time maintain a professional career is often the concern of some members of their extended family and neighbourhood. Their strategy involves gaining support from both paid helpers and family members who value the social esteem and financial gains associated with the woman's professional jobs. While this support is critical, most of the women included in my sample resisted social pressures which might have discouraged their career involvement. Even though they were supported by servants and family, they also showed remarkable courage, creativity and organisational skills to deal with the dual demands of career and family.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGING GENDER ROLES IN JAVANESE PROFESSIONAL FAMILIES.

The main issue examined in this study was how professional Javanese women in the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia dealt with dual roles in the household and in the work place. I was interested in how the job responsibilities of these women influenced their involvement in the household, and their social relationships in extended families and their neighbourhood. This was investigated in the context of modernisation of Yogyakarta and the increasing role of educated women in the economy and society.

My study showed that gender roles in society are complex. Studies like that of Boserup found that women tend to withdraw from the work force in the early stages of development, partly because there are more jobs for males, and that there is a clear division between public and private roles in social and economic affairs. In Indonesia, some research found that middle class women also tended to withdraw from work in rural areas as economic conditions improved. On the other hand, several authors have drawn attention to the dilemmas faced by professional women who find it difficult to reconcile new professional opportunities with traditional social values and expectations in major cities in Indonesia. Even though more women work in professional jobs, they are still expected to take responsibility for managing the household and raising children.

This study found that more middle class women are becoming involved in professional jobs mainly because of the spread of education and the associated desire to be more independent and recognised by society just as capable as males in the public domain. The demands for new consumption patterns and life styles has also placed pressures on educated women to work.

However, I found that the conflict in gender roles was not as great among professional households in Yogyakarta, as some earlier studies of Indonesian cities suggest.⁷⁰ The sharp conflict between the interests of working husbands and wives which has been highlighted in many studies of Western countries was not present in Yogyakarta. I found that the social environment provided support for working women - there was a 'sustaining crowd' of supporters which enabled women to cope with the difficulties of their dual roles.⁷¹ In a small city like Yogyakarta, women could depend on the support of family and helpers to a large extent than in larger cities like Jakarta - the professional women mostly had easy access to support from their mothers and the cost of maintaining servants was low.

At the same time, the public impression of women's roles in the household was not always a good indication of their power and influence in the household and family unit. They were managers of the household and had become increasingly financially independent from their husbands. They could be seen as threatening the power of males as the main breadwinner and head of the family. Yet the women in my sample were careful to maintain the conventional form of household structure in which the man is regarded as the head and main decision-maker. They did not publicly challenge the perception of traditional roles of mother and wife as reflected in religious teaching and state ideology.

Nevertheless, increasingly, younger Javanese women no longer described themselves according to the traditional Javanese term *konco winking* (or leading from the behind) but according to the Indonesian term *mitra sejajar*, or equal partners. In reality, they were quietly beginning to challenge the traditional role of women in the household, and their husbands appear to have begun to adapt to their wife's new role.⁷²

70 See especially Rahardjo (1976) and Raharjo et al. (1986).

71 The term 'sustaining crowd' is taken from Lubin (1987: 148) who examines careers and motherhood in New York.

72 Of course, since I did not interview the husbands, I was unable to find out how much their perceptions of their role in the household had begun to change.

The literature review indicated that married professional women in western countries have often taken the major responsibility for the home, even though they may be just as busy (or more busy) in their jobs as their husbands (Chapter 1). This often created tensions in relationships and is one explanation for the increase in marital breakdown in many western countries in recent years (Jones, 1994). Many professional married women in the western developed countries often feel that managing family is their second shift or their double duty.

At the same time, many younger professional women and men have adapted to the new circumstances of having two full-time working partners in North American cities. Men have been asked to take more responsibility for the upbringing of their children and housework. Thus, one question raised in this thesis was how men in Javanese households adapted to the changing role of women in society, and especially the involvement of their spouses in professional jobs.

Values regarding the role of Javanese women in society emphasize women's prime role in the domestic sphere. The main role of women is regarded as mother - to bear and raise children - and a wife who supports her husband and manages the household. Culture and society expect the first priority of married women to be the welfare of the family. Their role outside the household, is income earning and other activities in the public domain, are regarded as secondary.

However, unlike in some societies, the Javanese do not automatically regard women as only able to operate within the domestic sphere. Many observers have commented on the economic independence, freedom of movement and self reliance of Javanese women, and their labour force participation rates are high compared with married women in many other Muslim countries.

While the literature in western developed countries has concentrated on the role of men in the domestic duties, in Indonesia the stress has not been regarding the division of labour in the household. Rather the concern on the part of women's groups and religious leaders has been that if women pursue a career they might forget their *kodrat* - their family and their main role as a mother and a wife, especially if their job requires many hours away from the home.

MAIN FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD STUDY

The group of Javanese married women covered in this study were all tertiary educated and worked mainly in government jobs, in universities or in banks. In general, their experience suggests that women are able to manage their dual role as a mother and wife and as a professional worker. Their success depends on many helpers especially servants and their mothers, and also other family members and their husbands. Their work roles were accepted as giving some benefit not mainly for themselves but for their family in providing more income and improving their family's economic and social status.

Public recognition and individual incomes gave them some independence from their husbands and from the extended family and society. The fact that they did not depend on their husband's salaries was important to them. While Javanese women have traditionally managed money, the women in my sample said that if they were not working they could not use it freely and would have to consult their husband on how to spend it. Because they worked, they could use the money anytime without asking their husbands.

Marriage, children, household, and social life are all part of social life system which the professional women in my sample have to manage and coordinate. The career women in my sample were general managers of this social system. Servants were frequently in charge of the children and household tasks, while their mother often helped in a management role and in times of crisis. Extended family, drivers, caterers were examples

of the support system available to those families. The women themselves, however, were the coordinators.

As professional women, they did not socialize often with their neighbours and friends, because their time was limited. Spare time was used with the family, especially with the children. Working outside the home was sometimes criticised by neighbours if they felt the women neglected the families or the children. Sometimes the women felt that they were the victims of gossip from neighbours if they had male colleagues visit their home, or give them a lift home.

The husband's role and support was important for women who wanted to achieve career goals. Because women were not always able to be home, they relied more on their husbands. Most of the women in my sample said that men had slowly changed their perception regarding their role in helping manage the household. If the wife was not around because of work demands, the husband frequently assumed the responsibility for looking after the children, although the servants and the mother continued to play the main substitute role in managing the household. Some of my respondents reported that husbands demand their wives should always be home to 'serve' them when they get home in some households, but this was not true in any of the households which I studied. Some women did say, however, that their husband was sometimes concerned about their spouse's relationship with other men in the work place. This limited their mobility and sometimes caused friction at home.

How did different generations cope with the demand of their dual role? Surprisingly, there were not major differences between the younger generation and the older generation in their strategies of coping with the demands of a career and managing a household. In both cases, the women relied on servants and extended family to do many of the main jobs in the home. However, the older generation women tended to receive more help from their extended family and 'trusted' servants. The younger professionals were less

able to depend on servants, their mother and extended family, and relied more on their husband. The husbands of these younger women were also more willing to take more of the burden of work in the household, especially looking after children at critical times when servants in particular were not available.

Both older and younger professional women faced the same problems of gossip and criticism from neighbours or family when they were often away from home. However, since many more women are educated and work outside the home nowadays, this was felt as less of a problem among the younger women - especially since most of them lived in new housing areas where traditional neighbourhood ties were weaker. Women in both groups also said that they were blamed if the family encountered problems, such as the husband's infidelity or children getting into trouble at school.

Looking to the future, as educational levels improve and more and more women gain tertiary degrees, Indonesian women are becoming increasingly involved in professional careers which will test their traditional roles within the family. In Yogyakarta, even the younger generation depended on the support of their mothers and extended family. But they also sought more support from their husband in helping with child raising than earlier generations of women. This trend seems to be even more marked in large cities like Jakarta, where the employment of household servants is becoming more costly and families are less able to depend on paid household help or their mother and other family members. Educated women also seem to be more sensitive to discrimination in their public roles and demanding more equality in both public and private roles in Jakarta. Some of the tensions present in many western families regarding gender roles are likely to become more marked in coming years. This is also likely to be the case in cities like Yogyakarta. However, my study suggests that the role of the extended family is likely to remain strong in smaller cities where more traditional values and family support remain an important feature of social life.

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